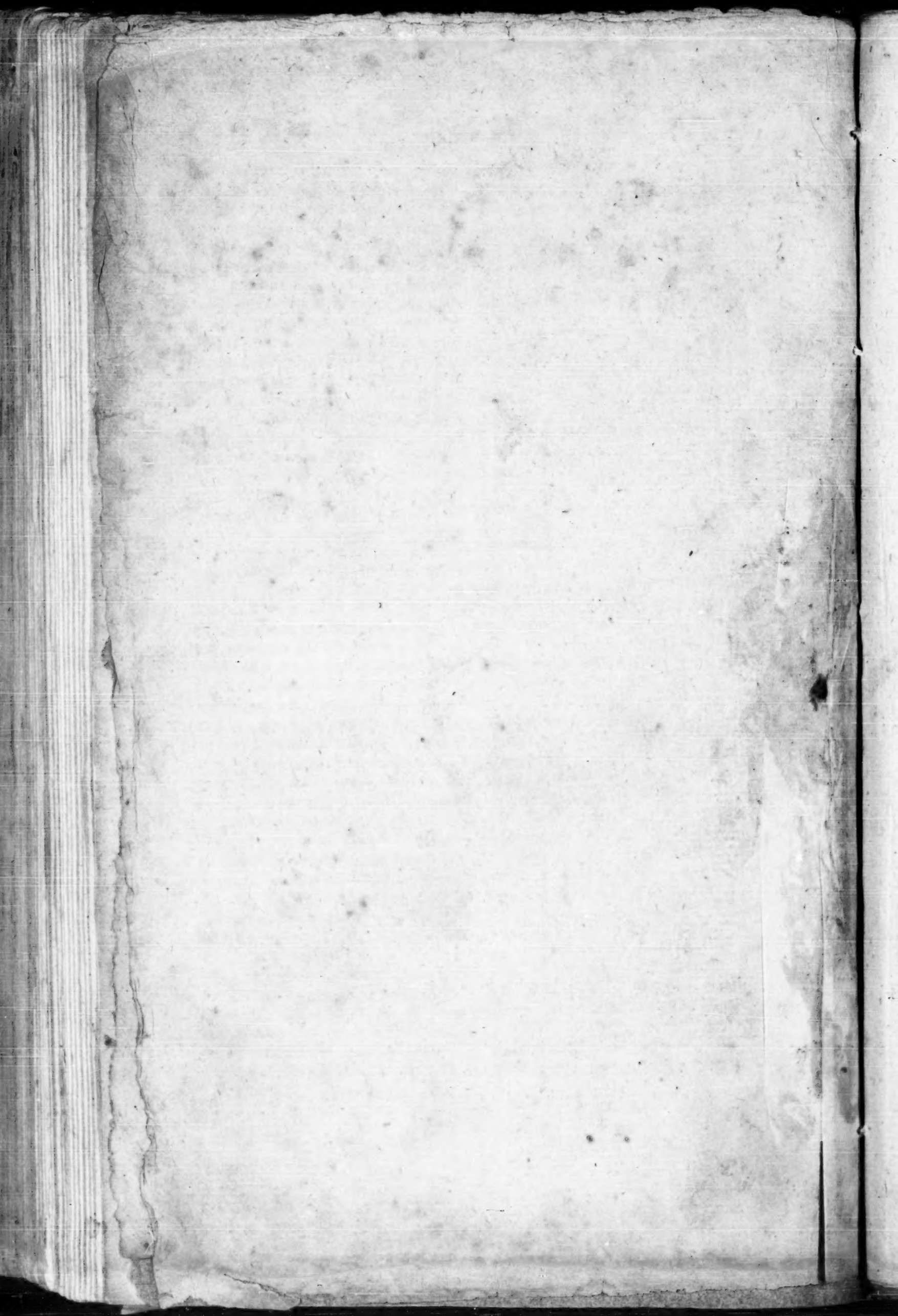


NUMBER EIGHT.

This Number completes the Second Volume of the
NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

IT CONTAINS,

The Letters of Curtius to Gen. Marshall, now Chief Justice of the U. S.
A Chapter from Godwin, On the Moral effects of Aristocracy.
A lengthy Paper from the Lancaster Committee.
Washington's Valedictory, or Legacy to the People of the United States,
on his declining a third election to the Presidency.
Another Chapter from Godwin, treating *Of Tests*. Another, treating
Of Titles,
Literary Amusement.
Declaration of Rights, and Constitution of Maryland.
On Despotism.
Disquisition on Patriotism.
Literary Amusement.



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CURTIUS'S LETTERS
TO
GENERAL MARSHALL.

MANY events have combined, to render you a very important character in this country. You have long been regarded as the leader of that party in this state who arrogate to themselves the exclusive name of Federalists, while they demonstrate their federalism, by a servile attachment to the administration, by a rancorous persecution of every enlightened republican, and by audacious efforts to erect a monarchy or aristocracy upon the ruins of our free constitution. The energy of your mind, and the violence of your zeal have exalted you to this "bad eminence." The boldness and ability with which you have defended the most reprehensible measures of the federal government, recommended you to an administration who have never failed to reward their most zealous adherents with the highest offices and honours. It would have been strange if such a proselyte as you had been neglected, when the humble services of a Lee, and a Pickering, have been gratefully rewarded. If you had employed your talents in defence of the people with as much zeal as you have manifested in defence of the administration, you would have received a reward much more exquisite and much more glorious than the adulation of a party, or the confidence of a government. Your history would have "been read in a nation's eyes."

And tho' you would not have received the disgusting flattery with which the enemies of liberty and peace hailed your return from an unsuccessful mission, you would have enjoyed the approbation and esteem of all the wise and the virtuous. It must be extremely mortifying to a man of your sensibility, to find that notwithstanding the loud and extravagant applauses of your friends, you do not possess the confidence of the people of Virginia. The admiration of a party, and the favour of an administration, cannot console a mind like yours, for the disapprobation and aversion of your native country.

The pomp of office and the pageantry of power are no compensation for the suspicion and jealousy of a free and virtuous people. The administration will exalt you to the most splendid honours, which they can bestow, but they cannot render you invulnerable to the just reproaches of an indignant republican. It must be admitted that some of your friends are good and patriotic men. But if you are indeed "an American in heart, and in sentiment," you must be deeply mortified when you observe that the persons most vehement in your praise are the partizans of Great-Britain, and the inveterate enemies of our independence. If you are indeed "an American in heart, and in sentiment," you must be astonished and afflicted, when you perceive that your principles are most warmly admired by persons who are Englishmen "in heart and in sentiment." You have been deputed on a mis-

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fion which involved the peace and happiness, and perhaps the existence of your country. I do not intend to examine the propriety of your conduct, during this important mission. I do not intend to enquire whether you ever were animated with the spirit of peace, and whether you divested yourself of that rancorous hatred against France, which your party has felt from the commencement of her revolution, and which you felt in a very eminent degree when you accepted the office of a minister of peace. When I avoid these enquiries it is not from a conviction, that the result would be honourable, or favourable to you. I do not wish to confound our controversy with France with the subjects of discussion upon which the American people differ. The administration have adopted this policy with a success most flattering to them, and most fatal to their country. The name of France has been the *cabalistic* word by which they have silenced all opposition, and accomplished every measure. Our unfortunate rupture with that republic has given an unnatural popularity to the friends of aristocracy and monarchy. It has enabled them to propagate principles which were once heard with disgust and horror, and it has enabled them to accomplish designs which could not have been attempted two years ago, without producing an immediate and universal insurrection of the people. Your party have exaggerated the cruelties and enormities of the French revolution in order to excite an excessive

and frantic indignation against France. And then they have artfully availed themselves of the angry passions which they kindled, in order to bring detestation upon republican principles. When they have excited an abhorrence of French principles, they are enabled by a very natural association of ideas, to produce an abhorrence of republican principles, because these are the avowed, if not the actual principles of the French nation. But it was not sufficient for the purposes of your party to bring republican opinions into contempt. It was necessary to vilify and to persecute the most able and illustrious defenders of these opinions. The publication of your dispatches, and the happy exercise of diplomatic skill, has produced a momentary delusion and infatuation, in which an opposition to the administration is confounded with hostility to the government, and treason to the country. According to the logic of your party, a disapprobation of any measure of the government, or a contempt for any man in the administration, is inseparably connected with an abhorrence of the constitution and with a treasonable attachment to France. The distinctions which were once so well known, in this country between the society and the government, the union and the constitution, and the constitution and administration, these distinctions once so obvious are now forgotten amidst the execrations and yells against French cruelty and French ambition which are incessantly kept up by the hirelings of Great-Britain

and the enemies of liberty. This delusion cannot last. If the people of this country are not "the most enlightened people in the world," they have at least understanding enough to know the inestimable value of liberty, and courage enough to defend it. They will discover that the executive directory of France are not our most dangerous enemies. The vengeance of an oppressed and insulted people is almost as terrible as the wrath of Heaven. The artifices and clamours of your party cannot prevent the people from discovering that their constitution has been violated and their liberty invaded whilst their apprehensions and their passions have been directed towards a foreign enemy. I shall animadvert in some subsequent numbers with severity, but with truth, upon the political creed which you have published. If I was your personal enemy I should rejoice at the indiscretion of which you have been guilty. I should rejoice at the infatuation which has led you to an avowal of principles odious to your country and fatal to your fame. But since I am not your personal enemy, I cannot help lamenting that you have proved by your own deliberate confessions, that you are not worthy of the confidence of the people of Virginia. It is painful to attack the political reputation of a man whose talents are splendid, and whose private character is amiable, but I am impelled, by the sacred duties which I owe to the cause of truth and liberty. I solemnly undertook to demonstrate that the principles which you have explicitly avowed, or which

may be fairly inferred from your answers, are dangerous to the constitution and independence of this country. I solemnly undertook to demonstrate that these principles are incompatible with the happiness of the people, and with a genuine attachment to a republican government. I repeat that I am not stimulated by personal hatred. I am not conscious of any of the rancour and malignity of party-spirit. The principles which you entertain, and which I have determined to arraign and expose, are obnoxious and abhorrent to my most sober and temperate judgment. I would not attack the worst of your opinions for the abstracted purpose of preventing your aggrandizement, or producing your downfall. But since your elevation would be dangerous to the liberty of my country, it is my duty to prevent it by a fair and candid examination of your principles. In the performance of this duty, I shall not attempt to torture your feelings by acrimony of censure & energy of invective. You have long been accustomed to the blandishments of flattery, and it is possible that the plain language of sincerity and truth may kindle your resentment. I shall hold myself responsible to you for this attack upon your political reputation, but I shall hear with contempt the clamours and menaces of your friends. In the examination of your answers I shall expose the insincerity and art of which you have been guilty. This insincerity will injure you even with moderate men of your own party. It must be admitted that their number is very inconsiderable, and it

is probable that their censure will partake of the apathy of their sentiments.

The majority of your party will readily excuse any duplicity. Like the Jesuits, their predecessors in ambition and hypocrisy, it is their fundamental maxim, that the holiness of the end, will justify the most dishonourable means. Their gratitude for your past services, and their sanguine expectations from your future exertions, will readily induce them to forgive a momentary affectation of the good principles, which they abhor. You did not calculate with sufficient confidence upon the attachment of your own party. You might have gone much farther in the avowal of republican opinions, without forfeiting their confidence, or losing their affections. You might have ventured to publish a creed which would have imposed upon every weak and credulous republican. Your party would have had penetration enough to ascribe your conduct to policy and not to principle, and your services in Congress would have been an ample atonement for a momentary defection from their standard. They would not have believed that you had seriously abandoned the administration, after your long and zealous attachment to it, and when your greatness and power were growing and flourishing in the genial sunshine of Executive favour. They know that the man who has once deserted the people, will never return to them.

CURTIUS.

LETTER II.

THERE is a party in this country formidable from their numbers, and still more formidable from their wealth, who have long endeavoured to restore us to the abject and miserable condition of British colonies, or at least to draw us into so close a connection with Britain as to secure to her the profit of our commerce and the command of our councils, and to render our independence only a shadow and a name.

The unity of our language, the similarity of our customs and manners, the influence arising from commercial intercourse, and the involuntary recollection of ancient ties and affections, were circumstances extremely favourable to the wishes and designs of this party. But notwithstanding the friendly intercourse which commerce produced between the two nations, the people of this country could not easily forget the cruel injuries, and the atrocious wrongs which they had suffered, in a tedious and bloody war. It could not be expected that the fierce and vindictive passions which were kindled by the sufferings and sacrifices of a civil war would readily subside.

The amiable affections by which we had been united with Britain had given place to hatred and revenge, and it was hardly to be expected that these affections would ever return. An abhorrence of Britain had become a habit which was mingled with all our principles, and which was fortified by all our prejudices. It is very wonderful that this habit should ever

have been overcome, since all institutions, and all our national festivals, since the glory of our heroes, and the fame of our patriots, since the love of liberty and the pride of valour, since every circumstance which can strike the senses, or awaken the feelings, impresses upon our memories the detestable tyranny of which Britain was guilty, and the dreadful chastisement which she received. The best and strongest principles of the human heart long impeded and counteracted the intrigues and machinations of the British party. And though their power rapidly increased from the time of the adoption of the federal constitution they were long confounded with its genuine friends, and the alarming progress of foreign influence was not observed. It was not until the negotiation of Jay's treaty that this faction ventured to lay aside the mask, and openly to pursue their nefarious designs. The ratification of that treaty, which was produced by their secret influence and their open clamours, elated them beyond the limits of moderation and decency, and inspired them with an audacious and insolent confidence in the success of their schemes against our constitution and independence. Nothing was wanted to render their success inevitable, but a rupture between this country and France. It is to be deplored that the rapacity and ambition of the Directory have furnished this party with plausible and imposing pretexts, and have enabled them to obtain an ascendancy over the public opinion.

The men who were so cautious, so pacific and so conciliating,

when we received from Britain every insult which could provoke, and every wrong which could inflame a free and noble people, these very men, were the first to resent the depredations of France, and the first to stimulate us to revenge and to war. The ancient and inveterate enemies of our independence have been most active in exaggerating our insults & injuries, and have affected most zeal in defence of our national honour and rights.

The hirelings of Great Britain and the miscreants, who fled to her standard in the hour of our danger, have been most vehement in their professions of patriotism and most liberal in their promises to support our independence with their lives and their fortunes. It would not be proper to ascribe to motives of insidious policy all the zeal which this party has manifested in stimulating us to war. Much of that zeal has proceeded from hatred to France, a hatred derived by inheritance from their barbarous and ferocious ancestors, and inflamed by the glorious revolution which has rendered their enemies more free than themselves. Much of that zeal has proceeded from a malignant, and inhuman desire, that the votaries of liberty should perish by each other's hands, in unnatural war. And much of their zeal has proceeded from a painful conviction, that Britain is on the verge of hideous ruin, and from a barbarous desire to give her a companion in misfortune and wretchedness. But whatever the motives of this party may be, it is certain, that their favourite object is a treaty of alliance

between this country and Britain. They have ventured to avow this object, and their venal presses have endeavoured, to prepare the public mind, for its attainment. The indignation excited by your dispatches, and the terror produced by the prospect of a war, have so far subdued our just and strong antipathies to Britain, that the expediency of a treaty of alliance with her, has become a subject of calm enquiry, and grave discussion. Your opinion concerning the expediency of such an alliance, has been solemnly required. You have expressed a disapprobation of a permanent alliance with any country, but you have asserted that it would be "madness and folly to refuse to protect ourselves by temporary arrangements." Your answer is studiously obscure and evasive. The question to which the people expected an answer was, whether you are the advocate of an alliance with Great Britain during the war? You have endeavoured to evade his question, by expressing your abhorrence of all permanent connections with the European powers, and by adopting the most vague and indefinite terms which your perfect knowledge of our very copious language could furnish.

You flattered yourself that the excellence of the general principles, which you profess, concerning foreign alliances, would be regarded as some atonement for the avowal of your wish for a treaty with Great Britain. There is hardly a man in the world who will advocate pernicious and monstrous opinions, when they assume the form of abstract

principles. It is when principles are applied to particular cases, in which the prejudices are excited, and the passions interested, that our opinions become perverted, and monstrous. There is nothing more common than an attempt to propagate dangerous opinions concerning particular measures, with the loudest professions of attachment for the general principles which forbid these measures. There is not an advocate for monarchy in this country who does not mingle professions of veneration for republican principles, with the incessant efforts, which he makes to subvert the constitution, and to destroy liberty. And every advocate for an alliance with G. Britain, will declare an aversion to the general system of foreign alliances, while he contends that it would be "madness and folly" to refuse to make "temporary arrangements." A direct and open attack upon the principles most firmly established in the public opinion, would bring disgrace and confusion upon the person who made it. An ingenious confession of your wish, for a treaty of alliance with G. Britain, would have excited the alarm and indignation of the most supine and ignorant of your countrymen. But although you have not ventured to express this wish in direct and unequivocal terms, I shall endeavour to prove that no other inference can be deduced from the obscure and vague language which you have used. You have said that it would be "madness and folly to refuse to protect ourselves by temporary arrangements." The phraseology which you have adopted, is curious and remark-

able. You were unwilling to acknowledge that you were in favour of an alliance with Great Britain during the war. You have carefully avoided the ordinary and appropriate terms, by which your ideas ought to have been conveyed. You flattered yourself that the phrase 'temporary arrangements,' would not be distinctly understood, by many of your fellow citizens, & that it would not be so obnoxious to any of them as a phrase of the very same import, a *treaty*. The calculations which are founded upon a presumption of ignorance in the rest of mankind, generally terminate in mortification and *disappointment*. The people of this country shall not be deceived concerning your principles, by your dexterity and cunning in the choice of words. I presume that you will not seriously assert to any man of common understanding that there is any difference between a temporary arrangement between two nations, and a *treaty*.

I presume that you will not deny that a temporary arrangement between two nations is a contract between them, and and that a treaty is nothing but a contract between nations. If there was no other evidence of the dangerous tendency of your principles and designs, a complete demonstration might be found, in the obscurity and ambiguity of your language. Clearness of conception, and clearness of expression, are the great and inestimable talents, by which you have been elevated in the world. The ambiguity of your answers proceeds from the mystery which envelopes the heart, and not from the dulness

which obscures the understanding. If your opinions were not obnoxious, you would not attempt to conceal them from the people by phrases, which were never used before, and which can hardly be understood. I shall hereafter take it for granted, that you mean by a temporary arrangement, a *treaty*. It is then your deliberate opinion, that it would be "madness and folly" to refuse to protect ourselves by a treaty with Great Britain. It is your deliberate opinion, that it would be "madness and folly" to avoid a close connection with a corrupt and perfidious people, who attempted to oppress and enslave us, when we were united to them by the strongest ties of affection and gratitude. It is your deliberate opinion, that it would be 'madness and folly' to refuse to make a common cause with a stupid and insolent monarch, who has long been the tyrant of the ocean, the curse of his people, and the scourge of the world.

CURTIUS.

LETTER III.

I PRESUME you will admit that if the temporary arrangements of which you speak are necessary to protect us from invasion, they must continue during the war. The danger of invasion will continue as long as the war and if the assistance of the British fleet is absolutely necessary to protect us during a part of the war from this danger, it will be impossible to shew why it would not be equally necessary during the whole war. I presume you will not assert that there is any probability of our acquiring a great fleet of our own during

the war. It would be "folly and madness" to make arrangements with Great Britain for the assistance of her fleet during a part of the war, when the danger which rendered this arrangement absolutely necessary, would continue during the whole war. It would be worse policy than the administration has ever yet pursued, to secure the assistance of Britain at the commencement of the contest, when our spirit will be high, and our resources entire, and to suffer us to be deprived of her assistance when our enthusiasm will have subsided, and when our resources will be diminished. The construction which I give to your answer is that you are of opinion that we ought to make arrangements for the purpose of securing protection from the British fleet during the war. I believe that this construction is fair, for any other would lead to conclusions disgraceful to your understanding. Now, it must occur to men of much less capacity than you, that the assistance of the British fleet during the war cannot be secured to us unless there is a stipulation in the treaty by which the British pledge themselves not to make a separate peace. It is surely fair to presume that the treaty will be equal and reciprocal, & if it is we shall be obliged to stipulate that we will not make a separate peace. We shall be obliged to stipulate that no terms however advantageous, or honourable shall induce us to prevent the effusion of our blood and the devastation of our country by the desertion of our ally. We shall be compelled to suffer the calamities and horrors of war until the pride of Great

Britain is humbled, or her ambition satiated. We shall be compelled to exhaust our treasure & strength in securing the expensive & ruinous conquests which she has made. We shall be compelled to carry on the war after the causes which produced it are removed, after our rage is extinguished, and when peace becomes the sole object of our wishes, and the only means of our salvation. We shall be compelled to persevere in an unnatural and execrable war until the French are forced to surrender to the British a promontory of Africa, or an island of the East Indies. I have proved that a treaty securing to us the protection of the British fleet during the whole war, is absolutely necessary according to the opinion which you have expressed, that this protection cannot be obtained unless the British stipulate that they will not make a separate peace, and that this stipulation cannot be expected without a similar stipulation on our part. It must be acknowledged that I am justifiable in presuming that the treaty will be at least as advantageous to Great Britain as to us.

If the negotiation is committed to Mr. Jay, it may be fairly presumed that the protection of their fleet will be purchased by the surrender of all our wealth & all of our honour, and by the surrender of every thing but the name of independence. And even if the negotiation was committed to you, your most extravagant admirers would not expect from your diplomatic skill any thing more than a fair and equal treaty. I must confess their expectations would be

much more sanguine than mine, for I should not expect from you or any other leader of your party an equal and honourable treaty with Great Britain. If you contend that a treaty may be obtained by which the British will stipulate not to make a separate peace without insisting upon a similar stipulation on our part, you must confess that they will not waive this natural, reasonable, and important stipulation without an adequate compensation in some form, or other. For if you maintain, in spite of the evidence of history, and in spite of the sad experience of mankind, that the British are so disinterested and so magnanimous as to render assistance to us or to any other people without compensation, if you pronounce this exalted panegyric upon that perfidious and rapacious people, you will demonstrate a stupid and disgraceful attachment to them. This modern Carthage whom no treaties can bind, and whose only laws are interest and force, will not be impelled by a sublime generosity to protect our independence by that very fleet with which it has so recently plundered our commerce and insulted our coasts. The assistance of this venal nation, amongst whom consciences are bought and sold in open market, will not be granted to us without an ample compensation. This compensation must be made either in a cession of territory, or by advancement of money, or by commercial advantages. Our administration, bold as they are, will not attempt the dismemberment of this country. There is no commercial privilege which we have not already ceded to

Great Britain. And unless Mr. Jay is deputed to surrender all our carrying trade and all our active commerce into her hands, I cannot imagine how we are to induce her to grant us the assistance of her fleet by the offer of any new privilege. The only new privilege which you or Mr. Jay could grant to her would be to prohibit our own citizens from all trade, and to deliver all our produce into her hands in exchange for her merchandize at her own price. I should not expect this concession even from the present administration. It follows that the only compensation which can be made for the assistance of the British fleet is the advancement of money. The system of subsidizing has reduced England to the verge of bankruptcy, and has made her the dupe and scorn of Europe, and yet this system is in your opinion an expedient which it would be "madness and folly" for America to reject. The people of America must purchase the assistance of the British fleet by an advancement of money. It will be important and interesting to enquire what the amount of this expenditure would probably be, and to ascertain in what manner the money could be raised.

If recourse is had to a great and immediate augmentation of our increasing taxes, the government will reduce the people to misery and stimulate them to insurrection. Recourse cannot be had to the system of borrowing. Amidst the disorders and convulsions which desolate the world, money is withdrawn from circulation and danger, and hoarded in the deepest coffers of avarice.

The merchants of England cannot accommodate their own government. The most opulent merchants of Holland have been proscribed and exiled, and those who are left behind would not venture to advance money to the enemies of France. Our own resources will be hardly adequate to the inevitable expenses of the war. In these circumstances, and under these difficulties, I demand of you how we are to obtain money in order to subsidize the government of England. You have not explained the kind of protection which you conceive to be necessary. The danger of invasion will be precisely as great at one period of the war as at any other.

If the British fleet is necessary to avert that danger, it ought to be stationed where it could avert the danger, and it ought to be sufficiently numerous to encounter such an armament as the French would probably equip for the invasion of America. I presume it will be admitted that a fleet for our protection ought to be stationed upon our coast. I presume it will be admitted that the French will never attempt the invasion of this country with a fleet of less than twelve or fifteen sail of the line. A British fleet for our protection ought to be at least as numerous. Now I ask for what compensation we could obtain twelve or fifteen sail of the line during the whole war from the king of Great Britain, who apprehends the invasion of his own Island, and who has to defend his widely extended dominions, & his still more widely extended commerce against the fleets of Holland, Spain and France? And I ask what protection such a fleet could give to

a vast coast which is exposed to the ocean for fifteen hundred miles? England has found some difficulty in defending her narrow coast with her numerous fleet. It would be sedition to enquire into the wisdom and virtue of an administration who boast of their resources and energy, while they attempt to protect themselves from the rage of one power by the assistance of another.

I have shewn that no "temporary arrangement" can be made with Great Britain for protection from her fleet without rendering us her auxiliary during the war, or her tributary. When any attempt to make your country tributary to France is made or even imagined, you discover a sensibility which would do you honour if it was not mingled with party rancour and national prejudice.

But there is nothing so dreadful to you in the prospect of being tributary to Great Britain. You can very calmly propose to make your country dependant upon her. If we are not able to defend our independence without the assistance of a British fleet, it would be well to return to our allegiance to our ancient masters. The language of your party is not very consistent upon any subject. When you attempt to stimulate us to a horrid war, you exaggerate our strength and our resources, and you declare that we are for all the purposes of self defence, a great and powerful people. But when you wish to overcome our stubborn, and honest prejudices against an alliance with Britain, you exaggerate our danger and our weakness, and you assure us that we

cannot be protected without the assistance of a British fleet. It would be easy to shew that there is no serious danger of a French invasion, and that the apprehension which your party express, is an insidious artifice, adopted for the purpose of conducting us by our fears to a closer connection with Britain. It would be easy to shew that we are adequate to repel any invasion, and to defend our independence against any of the powers of Europe. If we are indeed a feeble and defenceless people, the haughty and arrogant tone assumed by the administration, is as impolitic as it is ridiculous. If it is necessary for us to buy the protection of a British fleet, the warlike and heroic attitude of our administration, is indeed a vain and silly mockery. Unless the government has secured this assistance by a secret treaty, you must admit, if you have any regard to consistency, that there unbounded rage for a war has been "madness and folly." But although the administration is not eminently distinguished by prudence or wisdom, it is probable from the influence of other motives, that this treaty of alliance has been already negotiated. Although the federal orators who have raised the warwhoop in Congress, are not eminently distinguished for the strength of their understandings, it is not probable that they would have been such ideots as to have spoken of a 'war of extinguishment,' unless they had been sure of a coalition with Britain, & unless they had flattered themselves with the hope of another general crusade. It is probable from the furious

ravings of some persons high in office, that our virtuous triumvirate of ministers, King, Smith and Adams, are most zealously engaged in the pious and holy office of rekindling the flames of universal war. It would be tedious to detail the volume of arguments which may be urged against any alliance with Britain. It is sufficient to observe that we are able to defend our independence against any foreign power; that there is no necessity for any permanent or temporary alliance with Great Britain; that there is no assistance which she could give with a part or the whole of her fleet, which could protect us from an invasion, if such a plan is actually meditated by France; that an alliance with her would involve us the distress and ruin with which she is most awfully menaced; and that such an alliance would render us her auxilery during the war, or her humble tributary for a dishonourable protection. But notwithstanding these obvious and incontrovertable truths, you are the advocate of such a treaty. The errors of a weak man excite our pity, and it is only when folly is united with confidence and vanity, that we are provoked to contempt, and stimulated to ridicule, but the gross errors of a mind like yours, excite mingled emotions of suspicion and wonder. It is difficult to believe that genius and knowledge can seriously adopt the monstrous opinions of imbecility and prejudice. When we hear a man of uncommon understanding advocate absurdities which are palpable to the plainest capacities, we cannot help suspecting the

sincerity of his declarations, and the purity of his motives. The high admiration which I feel for your talents induces me to doubt your candour, when you advance fallacious and pernicious opinions. You know that a treaty of alliance with Great Britain is the favourite object of the party to which you have devoted your talents and pledged your services. An attachment to this party has led you to the avowal of opinions which your understanding must condemn, and at which your feelings must revolt, "if you are an American in heart and in sentiment."

CURTIUS.

LETTER IV.

YOU are of opinion that the alien and sedition bills were 'useless.' When you follow the natural impulse of your principles, your language is uncommonly nervous and glowing. But when you are compelled to express your disapprobation of any measure of the federal government, you adopt the feeblest terms which can be used. You could not venture to pronounce, that these odious bills were unconstitutional and arbitrary. You apprehended, that this declaration would have excited the resentment of your own party, and you determined to adopt a middle course, unsatisfactory to the public and unworthy of you. You expected to avoid the reproaches of your own party by the mildness of your censure, & you hoped to conciliate the republicans by expressing something like disapprobation of these detested laws. Your friends have been loud in extolling the candour and sincerity of your private life and

of your public conduct. Much of your reputation has been derived from an appearance of candour and integrity by which you have obtained the esteem even of those who have been most vehement in condemning your political principles. Your answers have satisfied me, that your pretensions to sincerity and ingenuousness are not just. These answers were intended to conciliate the republican party, without provoking your own, & the design is too obvious to impose upon the most credulous understanding. Notwithstanding the magnitude and splendour of your talents, you really are ridiculously awkward in the arts of dissimulation and hypocrisy. It must be admitted that the plan which you have formed is extremely arduous in its execution. In the present state of this country, it is eminently difficult to possess the favour of the administration without forfeiting the confidence of the people. The contempt and detestation of the people have been generally regarded as an evidence of federalism, and have often proved a strong recommendation to favour and to office. There is a man in this country who has shamefully apostatized from the patriotic principles which distinguished his youth, and who attempts to conceal or to lessen his own infamy by encouraging the apostacy of others. It is very doubtful whether the most refined policy and the most subtle intrigue of which the human mind is capable, could enable you or any other man to retain the favour of the executive, and to acquire the esteem of a republican people. But if this undertaking is within the limits

of human genius, it must be confessed that it is much beyond the compass of your talents, great and splendid as they are. Although your ambition has impelled you to pursue every road to power & glory, you are not adequate to the delicate & arduous task of centering in your person executive favour & popular applause. The ambition of a great soul disdains the elevation which is obtained by the capricious fancy or arbitrary will of a single individual. The clamorous and extravagant applause of a faction can neither satiate the restless spirit of ambition, nor afford pleasure to the man who is animated with the love of true glory, in a mind like yours the favour of a President, and the admiration of a party must leave an "aching void," which nothing can fill but the love of the people.

I may be under the dominion of prejudice or error, but I cannot conceive how such arguments as are every day urged against the alien and sedition bills could fail to present themselves to your understanding, or how they could fail to convince you, when they presented themselves.

You have given no opinion upon the constitutional question. In the infinite diversity of human faculties & in the infinite variety of human opinions, it would be presumptuous to declare, that there is any one opinion upon political subjects from which no man could actually dissent in his mind, whatever declaration his tongue might utter. But if it were possible to select such an opinion, I believe that the one which inculcated the unconstitutionality of the alien and sedition bills, would be the very

one to which every man would be compelled to subscribe in his mind. It is hardly possible to believe, that you can be seriously of opinion that these flagrant usurpations are constitutional laws. And if you are seriously of this opinion, it is a complete demonstration of the pernicious influence of party-spirit upon your mind. It is to be deplored, that an understanding like yours should be rendered insensible to the plainest truths by the petrifying influence of political prejudice. It is to be deplored that talents which were destined to inform and to enlighten should be rendered pernicious and mischievous to mankind by the adoption of stupid and monstrous errors. But whatever your opinion is concerning this important constitutional question, it was your duty to express it with perspicuity and candour. If you believe that these laws are constitutional, it was a sacred duty which you owed to the government, to vindicate it from the charge of usurpation and tyranny, and it was a duty more sacred to satisfy the doubts and remove the alarms of an agitated people. You knew that this question had been much discussed, and that it had excited much anxiety. And yet when you delivered your opinion concerning these laws, you studiously avoided the most important and interesting objection which has ever been made to them.

The reputation of your name, and the strength of your reasoning might have changed the public opinion, and would have made some proselytes. When we are confident of the truth of our principles we naturally expect that we shall be able to propagate

them, and we generally attempt to diffuse them as widely as possible.

There is no man who has manifested this temper more conspicuous than you, and you have certainly had some reason to be satisfied with your success. If you do seriously believe that these laws are constitutional, your silence cannot be reconciled with your duty to the people, or with a genuine attachment to the administration. It will be in vain to alledge that the avowal of this opinion would have rendered you obnoxious, and prevented your election to an office in which you expect to strengthen the government and to serve the people.

The cause of truth ought not to be sacrificed to the love of popularity. The good sense of the people has often prevailed over their most stubborn prejudices. And if you suppressed an opinion which you solemnly believed to be true, from an apprehension that it would not be generally adopted, you must entertain a very improper idea of your own talents, or a very unfavourable idea of the understandings of the people. I am unwilling to suppose that you evaded this constitutional question from the fear of offending the people by the avowal of your opinions. If you conceal any of your opinions from this motive, you are guilty of deception and treachery.

The conclusion which appears to be most fair, and which is certainly most honourable to you, is, that you are of opinion that the alien and sedition bills are unconstitutional. It is probable from your well known zeal in the cause of the administration, that

you would have attempted the defence of these laws if you had not believed that they were manifest usurpations which cannot be vindicated. But if you believe that these laws are unconstitutional, it was your duty to declare this opinion. Such a declaration from you in manly and temperate terms, would have produced union and confidence amongst the people, and would have inspired the government with moderation and prudence. The administration would be unwilling to be deprived of your support and co-operation, and they would be dismayed at the prospect of opposition from you. The laws would be repealed without difficulty, and our liberties would be restored without a struggle. You had a most glorious opportunity of convincing your country and the world of the purity and integrity of your principles, and of your magnanimous elevation above the intrigues and passions of a party. The road to immortal honour & renown was plain and easy, and yet it was not perceived by you. You had only to declare a correct opinion upon a simple constitutional question, and the people would have rewarded your candour with unbounded love. But you attempted to avoid the reproaches of a party, and you have lost forever the affections of a nation and the applauses of a world. In vain will you pursue the thorny and rugged paths which lead to fame. The present generation will condemn your principles & if your name reaches posterity, it will never be heard with enthusiasm or reverence. You have been solemnly required to deliver your sentiments upon

the most important constitutional question which ever occurred in this country. You have evaded the question and concealed your opinion.

If you believe that these laws are constitutional, you must have concealed this opinion from an apprehension that it would be odious to the people. And if you believe that they are unconstitutional, you must have concealed this opinion from an apprehension that it would be obnoxious to the government. I call upon you to extricate yourself *from* this dilemma. Either part of the alternative is dishonourable to you. You are bound as a victim at the altar of political justice, & nothing is left to you but the choice of *sufferings*. You are welcome to your choice of evils. But you must determine whether you will acknowledge that you concealed your opinion from the fear of offending the people, or from the fear of provoking the government. It is the sacred duty of every man who offers his services to the people, to avow his principles without reserve, and in this situation to conceal an opinion is a fraud against the dearest rights of society. If you think that these laws are unconstitutional, & if you suppress this opinion from an apprehension of offending the administration, it cannot be expected by any man who is not foolishly credulous, that you will venture to maintain any principles in congress which will be disagreeable to your party. If the fear of offending them prevents you from declaring that these laws are usurpations, it cannot be expected that you will be a very vigilant and intrepid de-

fender of the constitution against their daring incroachments. It is not to be expected that you will oppose them in debate, when you conceal your sentiments as a private citizen, from the fear of giving them offence. It is not to be presumed that you will be the champion of the constitution in congress, when your attachment to its enemies and violators, is at this time so strong, that you cannot declare in the most temperate terms that they have transcended their constitutional powers. It is not probable that the violence of your party-spirit will be diminished in congress. The passions of the parties in congress, like the atmosphere of Philadelphia, become more malignant and baleful every year. You were not distinguished for moderation in the assembly of Virginia. To be the leader of the majority of the house of representatives is a station to which you would aspire, & which you would attain. The passions are sympathetic and contagious, and all the angry and malignant feelings of your party would be communicated to you. The leader of a popular assembly is often compelled to follow the impulses which he produced, and which he intended to carry only to a particular point. But they acquire strength as they pass from bosom to bosom, and the assembly and their leader are transported far beyond the bounds which he vainly attempted to prescribe. I make these remarks for the purpose of proving that no reliance ought to be placed upon the appearance of moderation which you have assumed. I think I have shewn that your professions are not very sincere, and that you are even now under the ab-

(216) GENERAL MARSHALL.

solite dominion of party spirit. And, if your professions are sincere I have proved that you would probably lose your moderation in congress. If you have subscribed a holy covenant, by which you have bound yourself to support all the measures of the administration, constitutional or unconstitutional: if you are too much under the influence of selfish motives, and of party spirit, to venture to censure any usurpation of which the government may be guilty; if you are the advocate of that doctrine of abject and passive obedience, which was exploded by our revolution, and which has been lately revived by some of your party; if these or any of these are your principles. I trust that there is not a district in Virginia in which you could obtain a Virginian vote.

CURTIUS.

LETTER V.

YOU really are of opinion, that the alien and sedition bills would not have been adopted if they had been opposed by a genuine patriot like yourself. After the abject and oriental adulation which you have lately received, some apology ought to be made for your vanity. And indeed from the homage which has been offered to you, by the party who predominate in Congress, you have some reason to conclude that your influence might have prevented these bold usurpations. — But there is no part of your political conduct which can induce any impartial man to believe, that your influence would have been exerted in restraining the ambition of the administration, and in defending the liberty of this country against the en-

croachments of executive power. From the zeal with which you have vindicated the worst measures of the federal government, from your strenuous defence of Jay's accursed treaty, and from your still more strenuous exertions to defend their system of taxation and war, I venture to assert that your influence would not have been employed to prevent the President from being rendered an absolute tyrant with respect to the alien, and to prevent the patriots of this country from being deprived of the last consolation of the unhappy, the melancholy pleasure of complaining. From the tenor of your conduct, and the tone of your writings, I venture to assert, that your talents will never be employed in opposing the designs of a party from whom you have derived all your greatness, and whose applauses you have hitherto preferred to the affections of your country. The advocates of the alien and sedition bills, the tools and emissaries of the executive department, and the pseudo-citizens who have sworn allegiance to America, whilst their hearts remain faithful to their ancient master, these men I say would not be the most zealous promoters of your election, if it was absolutely certain that the whole energy of your mind would be exerted in supporting all their measures. But after admitting that your influence would have been exerted in opposing these bills, and after excusing the vanity of which you have been guilty, in insinuating that they would not have been adopted if you had opposed them, no apology can be found for the libel which you have published against the minority of Congress.

Vanity may be forgiven, but malignity cannot be excused. It is true that you have not said in positive terms that all the persons who opposed these bills in Congress are "hostile to the government." You have adopted the same obscure and evasive language by which you have attempted to shelter yourself in all your answers. You have said that the persons who opposed these bills were "suspected of being hostile to the government." You have not used a single expression from which can be inferred that you are of opinion, that the enlightened patriots who opposed these laws had been unjustly "suspected of being hostile to the government." You declare that these bills would not have been adopted if they had been opposed upon the feeble objections which you have urged, and by a person like yourself, who was not suspected of treasonable designs. It is your opinion then, that the majority of Congress suspect the able and illustrious men who opposed these bills, of being hostile to the government. I am very well satisfied that you are in the secrets of the party, and I shall not contradict you when you assert, that the majority of Congress are so much under the dominion of rancorous and detestable prejudices, that they suspect the most illustrious patriots of this country of being hostile to its government. Perhaps your friends will not be very much obliged to you for an expression which amounts to the most severe accusation, and the most bitter invective which could be pronounced against the wisdom and virtue of a legislative

assembly. But I shall never undertake their vindication, I shall never deny that they are under the influence of malignant prejudices, most dishonourable to themselves and most ruinous to their country. If the assertion had been made by authority much less respectable than you, I should very readily believe that the majority of the last Congress suspected every genuine patriot of being hostile to that system of usurpation and tyranny, which they call government.

It is probable that you and myself will not often concur in opinion concerning men or measures. And it really is curious that our sentiments concerning the temper of the last Congress should coincide with so much exactness. The terrors of the sedition bill have hitherto prevented me from saying, that the majority of the last Congress were so much under the influence of passion and prejudice that there was no measure however "useless" or pernicious which they would not have attempted, for the purpose of mortifying, insulting and oppressing the patriots. But since you have cast this imputation upon your party, I hope that I shall not be guilty of sedition when I declare that I concur with you in opinion upon this subject. The confession which you have made is worthy of our most serious consideration. If it is true that the majority of our Congress adopt measures which their most zealous adherents admit not only "to be useless" but to be productive of discontent and division, at a time when our salvation depends upon union, and if it be true that they are

impelled to these measures by a rancorous suspicion concerning the motives and principles of those who oppose them, if this be their temper and their character, it is to be deplored that the care of our rights and interests, and honour, has been confided to men so utterly destitute of moderation, wisdom and charity. In attempting to convict you of a libel against the republican party, I might easily satisfy your own party, that you have been guilty of an offence much more heinous in their estimation. I might prove to their satisfaction, that you have been guilty of a libel against the majority of congress. But my talents shall never be prostituted in the vindication of men who have violated the constitution of their country. Your genius is much better adapted to the defence of usurpation and tyranny than mine. There is a flexibility and easiness of virtue in the diplomatic character which is admirably calculated for the defence of a bad cause. The subtlety and acuteness of the understanding would not be restrained in their efforts at deception, by the nice scruples of rigid conscience. Let it be your task to vindicate these men from the reproaches of their country and even from the imputations which you yourself have cast upon them. It shall be my task to defend the constitution, to guard liberty, to expose hypocrisy, to denounce ambition, and to awaken the people. If you believe that the majority of congress unjustly suspect their opponents of hostility to the government, it is strange that you should attach yourself with so much ardour to a

party, distinguished for the malignity of their suspicions, and the rancour of their calumnies. An abhorrence of calumny is one of the strongest feelings of a virtuous mind. A close and intimate connection with men whom you believe to be guilty of vile suspicion, and detestable slander, could not be reconciled with any of the amiable qualities which your friends have ascribed to you with so much liberality. You have told the people that the majority of congress suspect their opponents of treasonable designs, and you have neither ventured to join in the accusation, nor to do justice to injured innocence. The suppression of your opinion must have resulted from a belief that the suspicion was well founded, or from an apprehension of offending your party. if you pronounce it to be unjust.

The tenor of your political system, and the excess of your federal zeal, render the first supposition most probable. Until you solemnly declare, that you do not concur with your party in suspecting their adversaries of treasonable designs, I shall take the liberty of stating to the people, that you do entertain this opinion. You may disavow this sentiment whenever you please, and whenever you make this disavowal, I will be the first to do you justice. I presume that there is no evidence against your opponents but their political conduct. For although the organ of your party, the immaculate Harper, denounced a conspiracy: we have yet heard of no specific charge, and of nothing like evidence. The rumour of a conspiracy was an essential part of that

system of terror and alarm which your party have adopted, for the impious purpose of aggrandizing themselves upon the ruins of their country. And since such a rumour was deemed necessary, the task of producing it was very properly entrusted to the abandoned effrontery of Harper. But this shameless fabricator of calumny did not venture to fabricate testimony in support of it, and reluctantly acknowledged that he had lost the clue which was to lead to a discovery of this dreadful conspiracy. Even the vigilance of your friend Mr. Pickering has not been able to discover any plot, or to detect any traitor.

I shall take it for granted, that there is no evidence against the opponents of your party in congress but their political conduct. If you know of any evidence and conceal it from the people and the constituted authorities, you are guilty of misprision and treason. Let us examine the political system of the minority of congress, in order to ascertain whether it is so obviously unwise and pernicious that it must be inferred that they are hostile to the government from the principles which they avow, and from the measures which they propose.

To counteract the fatal tendency of the funding system without endangering the public debt ; to restrain the influence of the executive department without invading its constitutional powers ; to preserve a fair neutrality between the belligerent nations without meanly submitting to one power, and insolently provoking another ; and to assert the right of the house of repre-

sentatives to withhold its assent from any measure of the other branches requiring an appropriation of money without attempting to frustrate or to paralyze any wise, or politic exertion of executive power by this *controul*, these are the objects which your opponents have pursued with an ardour of zeal, and an energy of mind, which the calumnies, and menaces, and clamours of your party have not been able to repress. Upon what occasion have your opponents manifested hostile designs against the government ? is the evidence of their treasonable intentions to be found in their opposition to Jay's treaty, or in their attempts to suppress an expensive diplomatic corps, instituted for the sole purpose of promoting executive patronage, or in their efforts to defend the constitution against the incroachments of a party, intoxicated with their success in deceiving and alarming the people of this country. Much stronger evidence of treasonable designs might be found in the conduct of a faction, who have endeavoured to exalt the executive power above every check and restraint ; who have multiplied offices and salaries for the purpose of multiplying their partizans and creatures, who have resorted to the favourite expedients of profligate ambition ; a standing army and a navy ; who have adopted the false and detestable principle that a public debt is a public blessing ; who have attempted to destroy the liberty of the press, and who have rendered the president an absolute tyrant, with respect to aliens.

The system of the minority with respect to the exterior relations has been to observe with fidelity our existing engagements, to avoid any new connexions, and to decline any interference in the complicated system of intrigues, negotiations and wars, which agitates the European world. Their system of domestic policy has been to prevent the wanton accumulation of debt, and the oppressive augmentation of revenue, to preserve the constitution inviolate, and to entrust our defence against a foreign enemy to the valour and enthusiasm of a free people. Your party have determined to pursue the execrable system of finance, negotiation, and war, which have uniformly led to bankruptcy and misery. In vain has history recorded the sad fate of other nations, in vain has experience delivered her solemn warning, in vain has eloquence pronounced the oracles of truth, bound by no ties, restrained by no feelings, convinced by no argument, and instructed by no example, they have determined that their country shall pursue the wild career which has led every government to tyranny, and every people to ruin. But you will not prevail. The day will come when your party "will be humbled in dust and ashes before the indignant frowns of an injured, insulted, and offended country."

Nicholas, Livingston, and Gallatin, were the most distinguished opponents of the alien and sedition bills. These enlightened patriots have long been objects of abhorrence and terror to all the enemies of our constitution and liberty. The

splendid ability with which they have defended the interests, and vindicated the rights of the people, has endeared them to every admirer of genius, eloquence and virtue, whilst it has rendered them eminently obnoxious to all the partizans of usurpation and monarchy. The noble exertions of these illustrious men will never be forgotten whilst patriotism and talents are admired in the world. Their names will descend with renown to posterity, when their enemies and slanderers will be consigned to oblivion's deepest grave. In spite of the envenomed and execrable calumnies of venal printers, in spite of the rancorous and malignant invectives of licentious orators, in spite of the yells of an infuriated faction, and in spite of the senseless clamours of deluded multitudes, even the present generation, will do ample justice to the small but intrepid phalanx who have exerted the sublimest energies of the human mind, in defence of liberty. I am not accustomed to penegetic, and the energy of language cannot express the gratitude and affection with which my heart overflows when I reflect upon the services of these most excellent men.

When I select the names of Gallatin, Livingston, and Nicholas, I am not unmindful of the merits and talents of many other gentlemen. I have selected them because they have been exposed to the most cruel obloquies of your party. Mr. Gallatin has been persecuted with all the detestable rancour of envy and malice. The accuracy of his information, the extent of his knowledge, the perspicuity

of his style, the moderation of his temper, and the irresistible energy of his reasoning powers, render him the ablest advocate that ever appeared in the cause of truth and liberty. Patient and persevering, temperate and firm, no error escapes his vigilance, no calumny provokes his passions. To expose the blunders and absurdities of his adversaries, is the only revenge which he will condescend to take for their insolent invectives. Serene in the midst of clamours, he exhibits the arguments of his opponents in their genuine colours, he divests them of the rinsel of declamation and the cobwebs of sophistry, he detects the most plausible errors, he exposes the most latent absurdities, he holds the "mirror up" to folly, and reasons upon every subject with the readiness of intuition, and the certainty of demonstration. Elevated above the intrigues of parties, and the weaknesses of the passions, he is never transported into any excess by the zeal of his friends, or the virulence of his enemies. His object is the happiness of the people, his means economy, liberty and peace, his guide the constitution. The sympathies which fascinate the heart and mislead the understanding, have never allured him from the arduous pursuit of truth, through her most intricate mazes. Never animated by the impetuous and turbulent feelings which agitate popular assemblies, he preserves in the midst of contending factions, that coolness of temper and that accuracy of thought, which philosophy has hitherto claimed as the peculiar attribute of her closet meditations. He unites to the energy of eloquence, and the con-

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fidence of integrity, the precision of mathematics, the method of logic & the treasures of experience. His opponents slander him and admire him, they assail him with ignorant impertinence, and pitiless malice, and yet they feel that he is the darling of philosophy, the apostle of truth, & the favorite votary of liberty. Their hatred like the rebellion of Satan, proceeds from the impatience of any superiority. There is a daily beauty in his life which makes them ugly. Instead of imitating his excellence, they attempt to conceal it by a mass of obloquy, instead of reverencing his unparalleled wisdom and virtue, they sharpen the dagger of falsehood, and prepare the poisoned arrows of envy. The men who are supported by a foreign faction, have the effrontery to vilify him because he is a foreigner. Virtue and genius are not peculiar to America. They have flourished in every country and in every age. The merits of men are not to be ascertained by geographical boundaries. The mind has no country but the universe. Patriotism is not a narrow and illiberal prejudice in favour of the soil upon which we happened to be born. It is a rational and noble attachment to the country which gives us protection, and which secures our happiness. It is not incompatible with universal philanthropy; on the contrary, it is a modification of benevolence, softened by society, and strengthened by gratitude. Mr. Gallatin is attached to the constitution because it is free, to the people because they are generous and amiable, and to the country because he has found in it, an asylum from oppression & misery.

Are not these ties at least as binding as the shackles of prejudice and habit? But the conduct of Mr. Gallatin is his best vindication. This foreigner has defended the constitution against the attacks of native Americans, and has displayed a noble ardour in the defence of his adopted country, whilst many of her sons repose in inglorious apathy, and whilst others assail her with detestable treachery, and unnatural hatred. I will not compare your political conduct with that of this much vilified foreigner. I promised to avoid acrimony of censure, and I should violate that promise if I began this comparison. I have performed the duty which I undertook to discharge. The people will decide between us. It is for them to determine, whether I have convicted you of insincerity and deception, and whether I have demonstrated that your opinions are incompatible with their happiness, and with a genuine attachment to a republican government. Their decision will be fatal to you, or disgraceful to me. It seldom happens that both the accused and accuser are acquitted of blame. I

hope that I shall not be convicted of having borne false testimony against you, but if the public adopt this opinion, I shall find complete consolation in the honesty of my intentions. There is nothing which could shake my fortitude, but the reproaches of the people, and yet I believe, that even amidst their execrations I could find "in my soul a drop of patience."

Timid men will wonder at the boldness with which I have addressed you. Their frigid souls cannot comprehend the holy enthusiasm which animates me in the cause of truth and justice. Whilst they anxiously estimate difficulties, and meanly calculate dangers, I will follow the sacred impulse of conscience and zeal, even if it leads to ruin and martyrdom. I am prepared to encounter the rage of the numerous and powerful party who idolize you. Their vengeance will pursue me through life, and yet I would not suppress or soften a word, for all the applauses, and all the honours which they can bestow.

CURTIUS.



MORAL EFFECTS of ARISTOCRACY.

Importance of practical justice.—Species of justice which aristocracy creates.—Estimate of the injury produced.—Examples.

THERE is one thing, more than all the rest, of importance to the well being of mankind, justice. Can there be any thing problematical or paradoxical in this fundamental principle, that all injustice is injury; and a thousand times more injurious by

its effects in perverting the understanding and overturning our calculations of the future, than by the immediate calamity it may produce?

All moral science may be reduced to this one head, calculation of the future. We cannot

reasonably expect virtue from the multitude of mankind, if they be induced by the perverseness of the conductors of human affairs to believe that it is not their interest to be virtuous. But this is not the point upon which the question turns. Virtue, is nothing else but the pursuit of general good. Justice, is the standard which discriminates the advantages of the many and the few, of the whole and a part. If this first and most important of all subjects be involved in obscurity, how shall the well being of mankind be substantially promoted? The most benevolent of our species will be engaged in crusades of error; while the cooler and more phlegmatic spectators, discerning no evident clue that should guide them amidst the labyrinth, sit down in selfish neutrality, and leave the complicated scene to produce its own denouement.

It is true that human affairs can never be reduced to that state of depravation as to reverse the nature of justice. Virtue will always be the interest of the individual as well as of the public. Immediate virtue will always be beneficial to the present age, as well as to their posterity. But though the depravation cannot rise to this excess, it will be abundantly sufficient to obscure the understanding, and mislead the conduct. Human beings will never be so virtuous as they might easily be made, till justice be the

spectacle perpetually presented to their view, and justice be wondered at as a prodigy.

Of all the principles of justice there is none so material to the moral rectitude of mankind as this, that no man can be distinguished but by his personal merit. Why not endeavor to reduce to practice so simple and sublime a lesson? When a man has proved himself a benefactor to the public, when he has already by laudable perseverance cultivated in himself talents, which need only encouragement and public favour to bring them to maturity, let that man be honoured. In a state of society where fictitious distinctions are unknown, it is impossible he should not be honoured. But that a man should be looked up to with servility and awe, because the king has bestowed on him a spurious name, or decorated him with a ribband; that another should wallow in luxury, because his ancestor three centuries ago bled in the quarrel of Lancaster or York; do we imagine that these iniquities can be practised without injury?

Let those who entertain this opinion converse a little with the lower orders of mankind. They will perceive that the unfortunate wretch, who with unremitting labour finds himself incapable adequately to feed and clothe his family, has a sense of injustice rankling at his heart.

*"One whom distress has spited with the world,
Is he whom tempting fiends would pitch upon
To do such deeds, as make the prosperous men
Kist up their hands and wonder who could do them*."*

Tragedy of Douglas, Act iii.

Such is the education of the human species. Such is the fabric of political society.

But let us suppose that their sense of justice was less acute than it is here described, what favourable inference can be drawn from that? Is not the injustice real? If the minds of men be so withered and stupified, by the constancy with which it is practised, that they do not feel the rigour that grinds them into nothing, how does that improve the picture?

Let us for a moment give the reins to reflexion, and endeavour accurately to conceive the state of mankind where justice should form the public and general principle. In that case our moral feelings would assume a firm and wholesome tone, for they would not be perpetually counteracted by examples that weakened their energy and confounded their clearness. Men would be fearless, because they would know that there was no legal snare lying in wait for their lives. They would be courageous because no man would be pressed to the earth that another might enjoy immoderate luxury, because every one would be secure of the just reward of his industry and prize of his exertions. Jealousy and hatred would cease, for they are the offspring of injustice. Every man would speak truth with his neighbour, for there would be no temptation to falsehood and deceit. Mind would find its level, for there would be every thing to encourage and to animate. Science would be unspeakably improved, for understanding would convert into a real power, no longer an *ignis*

fatuus, shining and expiring by turns, and leading us into sloughs of sophistry, false science and specious mistake. All men would be disposed to avow their dispositions and actions: none would endeavour to suppress the just eulogium of his neighbour, for, so long as there was tongues to record, the suppression would be impossible; none fear to detect the misconduct of his neighbour, for there would be no laws converting the sincere expressions of our convictions into a libel.

Let us fairly consider for a moment what is the amount of injustice included in the institution of aristocracy. I am born, suppose, a Polish prince with an income of £ 300,000 per annum. You are born a manerial serf or a Creolian negro, attached to the soil, & transferrable by barter or otherwise to twenty successive lords. In vain shall be your most generous efforts and your unwearied industry to free yourself from the intolerable yoke. Doomed by the law of your birth to wait at the gates of the palace you must never enter, to sleep under a ruined weather-beaten roof, while your master sleeps under canopies of state, to feed on putrified offals while the world is ransacked for delicacies for his table, to labour without moderation or limit under a parching sun while he basks in perpetual sloth, and to be rewarded at last with contempt, reprimand, stripes and mutilation. In fact the case is worse than this. I could endure all that injustice or caprice could inflict, provided I possessed in the resource of a firm mind the power of looking down with pity on my tyrant, and of knowing that I had that

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within, the sacred character of truth, virtue & fortitude, which, all his injustice could not reach. But a slave and a serf are condemned to stupidity and vice, as well as calamity.

Is all things nothing? Is all this necessary for the maintenance of civil order? Let it be recollected that for this distinction there is not the smallest foundation in the nature of things; that, as we have already said, there is no particular mould for the construction of lords, & that they are born neither better nor worse than the poorest of their dependents. It is this structure of aristocracy in all its sanctuaries and fragments against which reason and philosophy have declared war. It is alike unjust, whether we consider it

in the casts of India, the villainage of the feudal system, or the despotism of the patricians of ancient Rome dragging their debtors into personal servitude to expiate loans they could not repay. Mankind will never be in an eminent degree virtuous and happy, till each man shall possess that portion of distinction and no more, to which he is entitled by his personal merits. The dissolution of aristocracy is equally the interest of the oppressor and the oppressed. The one will be delivered from the listlessness of tyranny, and the other from the brutalising operation of servitude. How long shall we be told in vain, "that mediocrity of fortune is the true rampart of personal happiness?"

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Presidential Election.

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The following address is recommended to the calm consideration of every friend of public economy, of religious liberty, of law and order, of representative government, and of the constitution of the United States,

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TO THE REPUBLICAN CITIZENS OF THE *STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

—

LANCASTER, September 17, 1800.

Fellow Citizens,

The very interesting posture of our Public Affairs, occasioned an assembly of Deputies from twenty-one Districts of the County, to be convened in the Borough of Lancaster, on the 12th day of

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this Month. The Meeting was collected from every vicinity, and was numerous and respectable. After making a selection of Republican Citizens, to be proposed as Members of the Federal and State Legislatures, they assigned to us the duty of communicating to you such matters, in relation to our political concerns, as may produce the necessary exertions at the approaching elections. The whole Lancaster meeting was solemnly impressed with a belief, that the elections to be held on the 14th of October, will be far the most important, that ever occurred in Pennsylvania.

In performing the very important duty confided to us, we shall endeavour to address the understandings of our fellow citizens, and candidly to ground our communication upon serious truths and considerations, equally essential to the safety and happiness of all real republicans of the three parties. For we know well, that, as many of the two divisions of the federal party are republicans; so all the republican party are decided friends of our federal system of government. Those, for whom we now act, lay no claim to exclusive republicanism; but they will not permit certain of their opponents to maintain a pretension to an exclusive attachment to the constitution of the United States. It is the desire of the republican interest, that the real Enemies of representative government may be thoroughly known. We do not wish (after the manner of the federalists, as made known by one of their confidential members, Samuel Lyman, esq. of Massachusetts) we do not wish

to excite an unlawful and anarchic "hatred and animosity," to destroy the opponents to our representative governments. The republican party only wish the people and the governments to be well informed who are in truth, the enemies of the constitution. They desire, that the people may not employ those enemies; and that the government of the Union and of the States, may enforce the laws against them. The republicans are utterly averse to persecuting even the enemies of representative government through the medium of an irreligious and barbarian spirit of "hatred and animosity" nor will they be betrayed into such a conduct by the example of those infuriated Federalists, whose long-known violence is announced, by the Massachusetts member of congress, to have at length divided their party. It seems the power to punish under sedition laws, & other known laws does not satisfy them. A terror, a hatred, a punishment beyond the law, and at which some of their hearts recoil, is urged to the length of a party quarrel. It is a truth, illustrative of the wicked ends to which this odious spirit is applied, that "the reign of terror" and a Parris 'September,' (a time of exile and assassination) were menaced against a citizen of Philadelphia, through the channel of a federal civil officer, for a decent publication in Brown's paper, which went to prove, the British, and not the French, were the beginners of the spoliation of neutral trade. This is verified on oath, and a certificate will be furnished, on the application of an elector, or of any attorney for the Union or

for a state. That baneful spirit of hatred applied as it has been, greatly to force ends, has been used to enrage citizen against citizen, friend against friend, brother against brother, state against state, and Northern against the Southern States. It has been a principal Engine, for many years, against Jefferson and Madison.

It is not to be wondered, under such circumstances, that the Republicans struggled against the Election of Mr. Ross, who clearly belongs to that part of the federalists, who are disposed to "*bold strokes*." It is not to be wondered, that we rejoice at the removal of Mr. Pickering and Mr. McHenry, who belong to the same Connexion. And, as we believe that too many of the leading Friends of Mr. Pinckney, and some of the Friends of Mr. Adams, are disposed in like manner, and that we shall prove their joint measures to have been productive of public Evils; we hope for the Election of another Citizen as President. The Friends of Mr. Pinckney openly avow their opposition to the re-election of Mr. Adams. Of this we have certain knowledge.

One of the circumstances, that induces the desire of Mr. Jefferson's Election, is the vast expenditure of Public Money. On the 4th of July, 1800, the Federal Government had been in operation about eleven years. The public Expenditures, for that time, exceeded 87 millions of dollars. Our generous unsuspecting Countrymen should examine into the vast sums the administration have expended. The Monies, which the Government

have received in those eleven years, amount to 89 millions and one third. We should have expected more economy with a New England Administration. Our Brethren in those States expected, we believe, much more. As the Friends of Mr. Adams and General Pinckney have held all the Offices of Government, we cannot believe, that our Eastern Fellow Citizens will be disposed to a choice of them by the Presidential Electors.—The Citizens, in that quarter, should pay more attention to their Elections. We are surprised to observe, that the vote for a Member of Congress, in Connecticut, is less than 3800; when Lancaster County, at the last Election, gave, on the two sides, 5500.

Much of our public expence has arisen from the measures for *creating an army*, on the plea of repelling French Invasion; which was, nevertheless disbanded, when we had no certainty of a Treaty with France: It is difficult for us to extract, from the accounts of the proceedings of our Government, any wise and good views with which the Army could have been raised, that are consistent with the measure of so early a disbanding of it. It is, however, truly unfortunate, on the score of the public Economy, and indeed of political jealousies and fears, that the fullest anticipation of all the objections to the army was not made, before the laws were passed.—We have been at a very great expence to appoint a vast number of Officers, and to place an army upon paper, much of which might perhaps have been saved. It is to be

extensive an authority to levy regular troops relaxed the attention to the Militia, and (with the new and extensive plan of volunteers) tended to diminish the wholesome influence of that *Constitutional* force.

We have not yet noticed the army, chiefly as it has encreased our public burdens. It is much more necessary to remember it in other views. The danger of Invasion is no longer credited, and we may now speak out. The votes for the different Regiments and Corps amounted, as we understand them, to about 42,000 men. The authority to employ Volunteers, was extended to 75,000 men. These vast forces were accompanied by a very *singular* and *alarming* fact. It was carried in one House of Congress, with the vote of our senator Ross, to authorise the President to disuse the Militia North of the Potomac, even to repel the invasion of the French; though we have expended 11 & 12 millions in measures to that end.

It would seem, that we may not be *defended*, even, that Invasion may not be repelled if it must be *by the Militia*, if some of the federalists could have their Will. When we remember the invariable uses, to which regular Armies have been notoriously applied, when we reflect that the Volunteer corps consisted entirely of the Federal Party, which confesses that it has quarreled about "*the degree of hatred and animosity to be used against their fellow citizens*;" or of foreign Monarchists, infuriated against Republicanism; and when we call to mind, which alone admitted the Republican Party, was thus openly proposed, by the

friends of Mr. Pinckney and Mr. Adams, to be *disused*; we believe that many of our Citizens must rejoice, with us, in the disbanding of the Army. The corps of Volunteers and the Army, contained, no doubt, a proportion of patriotic and virtuous Characters; but the laboriously excited hostility which is avowed to have been raised against France, and the hatred and animosity, which the Federal Party confess to have been propagated against Opponents can only be thoroughly eradicated under the commanding power of the constitutional Magistracies and the Militia. The sceptre of the People, and the Sword of the People will beat down those rash and lawless Partisans.

The infinite importance of RE-
LIGION induces us to notice the subject—though our constitution exempts it from *human* authority. It has been represented, in a production attributed to a former chaplain of congress, that the republican candidate had dined on Sunday, at Fredericksburg with some of his friends, on a journey from Philadelphia to Montecello. Men of piety have been attempted to be alarmed with a single *casual* circumstance of that kind; though Mr. Jefferson is *exemplarily* free from indecorum and excess in his table intercourse.—Since, however, pamphlets are deliberately written to convey such attacks, we are forced to observe, that Mr. Adams, when our minister at the British court, was in the *habit* of entertaining Americans and foreigners in London at his ministerial dinners, on the sabbath day.

Mr. Jefferson's conduct as Se-

cretary and Vice-President, has been governed, as we conceive, by those religious virtues, *self-denial and disinterestedness*; for he never gave or procured an appointment for one of his relations or connections. It has been imputed to Mr. Adams, that, after removing several even of the New-England officers, long before appointed by president Washington, of republican or democratic politics, he has actually appointed persons in his family and friendship, of *the same politics* as those removed. Nor have his relations and connections, of opposite politics been excluded from office, by the like self-denial and disinterestedness, as have been manifested by Mr. Jefferson.

The command of ourselves is an indispensable duty of religion. We are told, on the highest authority, that, "*if any man among you seemeth to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, that man's religion is vain.*" Mr. Jefferson's public communications are large and impressive. The moderation with dignity and firmness, displayed in his letters to Mr. Genet, Mr. Hammond, and Mr. Gouverneur Morris, conform more exemplarily, in our opinion, to the preceding monition of *the Bible*, than the communications of Mr. Adams to the addressers and to the legislature. But there is other evidence of the piety of Mr. Jefferson. Our duty to Almighty God, and our duty towards our neighbour, are *the sum of true religion*. By performing those high duties, we may expect the esteem of good men, and hope for the favour of Heaven. There is no act so impor-

tant to our neighbour, nor so truly reverential to Almighty God, as voluntarily divesting ourselves, and our political and religious connections of all authority over the religious liberty and rights of conscience of our fellow men. At the close of the revolutionary war, Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson were alike situated in one religious concern. They are citizens of the two populous states of *Virginia* and *Massachusetts*. In each of these states, their respective churches had obtained advantages, through the civil power, inconsistent with the religious liberty, and the rights of conscience of the members of all other religious societies. The protestant episcopal church could exact contributions different from all others in Virginia, and the congregational or independent church could exact contributions different from all others in Massachusetts. Mr. Jefferson, above fifteen years ago, performed his duty towards his neighbours, to his fellow men, and to his God, by introducing and carrying a law in Virginia, to abolish forever, those exactions of one church from the rest, and all other interferences with religious liberty, and the sacred rights of conscience.

Mr. Adams has omitted to make any such attempt or exertion, by which he has failed to perform that *all important* duty to his fellow men, and that act of pious reverence to Almighty God, which has distinguished the religious character of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Adams even tho' sworn to maintain our freedom from religious tests, avowed, immediately before entering on the presidency, his design to be go-

verned as president, in his appointments to office, by an *un-constitutional* principle, which would deprive the members of one known American church of their lawful advantages and rights. We believe, that the maintenance of the christian religion, neither requires nor *admits* the contravention of an oath founded upon its truth. The harshest strictures have been made upon some expressions in Mr. Jefferson's notes ; but it surely is not denied, in Pennsylvania, that a pious Hebrew neither injures our persons nor estates, neither breaks our limbs nor steals our purse, though he believes in but one Supreme Being. Nor did the untutored savages, who surrounded our European forefathers in their various colonial settlements, fracture their members or destroy their property, by their enlightened credulity in many gods. It is a shame to christian men, that not only the limbs but the lives of the Pagan nations, have often met destruction from their hands. Nearly exterminated by our luxuries, by our maladies, and by our arms, the Polytheist Indians yet teach a christian world to suffer and forgive. In our own land, the savage believers in a false Deity, have been deemed by the pious Quakers and Moravians, objects of conversion, and not of persecution.

The letter to Mazzei has been the foundation of much reprehension of Mr. Jefferson. If it be really his, he says plainly that there is an English party in America. Who will deny this when the files of the British king and council declare, "*that a party is formed in America in favour of*

Great Britain ?"—The evidence has been seen by Mr. Jefferson's opponents, and by a part of the committee, that now addresses you. It can be exhibited, by us, to any of the electors. If Mr. Jefferson was grieved at the great influence of that foreign party, so was Mr. Adams. If the former was alarmed at it, so was the latter. If the former announced it, so did the latter. Where is the offence of such sentiments or conduct, of Mr. Adams, or Mr. Jefferson? It is eminently virtuous to announce and oppose any foreign influence. None but purchased or prejudiced foreign partizans can on reflection and information, at this day, torture it into impropriety. An attack from Cebbett's paper, or the Gazette of the United States, corroborate the truth. An attack from any American for those opinions, *now*, must prove *him* to be *one of the party*, which the British privy council announces to be formed, or that he is deceived and misled by that party. Instead of vilifying Mr. Jefferson, we ought to concur with him, the republicans do heartily concur with him, in an utter disapprobation of all foreign influence. Falsely traduced as blind or wicked devotees to France, and as frantic or criminal enemies to England, the republicans exult in an attachment to our own constitutions, in preference to the regal, aristocratical, & hierarchical government of the one, or the sad anti-republican aberrations of the other.

They believe, that it is not the interest of America that France should be at all exalted above England, or England above France. Their equality is our

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safety. Mr. Jefferson's letter also intimates, that there are monarchical and aristocratic views and principles in this country. Of this we can have no doubt. Would to God there were not. We are informed, upon authority that we fully credit, that it has been avowed and declared, to full effect, by weighty and able men among our party opponents, "*that this country cannot be happy, without an hereditary chief magistrate and a senate that is hereditary, or for life. That one of the declarants was himself a monarchist; and that the principal northern and eastern federalists, in power, are in favour of a monarchy, a nobility, and a representation of commons.*" This is a subject on which there should be no more reserve, no evasion, no deception, no timidity. Let it go ingenuously before the whole nation. We are willing to furnish to the Philadelphia federal election committee, a statement of these facts, with references to the evidences, if they will engage that those evidences shall be fairly published in the Gazette of the United States, the Philadelphia Gazette, and the American Daily Advertiser, ten days before our general election. It is well known that one of those monarchical and aristocratic declarations, as made before 1797, has been publicly in the Philadelphia papers, imputed to Mr. Adams, with the names of the witnesses, col. John Langdon, of New-Hampshire, and col. John Taylor, of Virginia, without denial. Is not then the existence of monarchical and aristocratic views, as clearly established, as the existence of an English party? Can any man

blame Mr. Jefferson for entertaining this opinion? Was it not fidelity to that constitution which it is *pretended* he wishes to subvert.

Our political connections are charged, in print too, by our federal brethren, the Lancaster committee, with principles calculated to subvert the constitution of the United States. It is necessary to meet, in the face of day, such high charges. It cannot be expected, that we will bear such charges in silence. It might be deemed an admission of their truth. We are earnestly desirous, immediately, to meet the Lancaster federal committee in the investigation before our fellow citizens. If it be not done, every republican will see the true state of the case; and that they have made charges which they cannot support. If they will venture upon the discussion, we shall ask them who proposed a vast body of partisan volunteers, and voted for the disuse of the constitutional militia? Who proposed to transfer to a mere joint committee and the judges, the power of the whole congress, in relation to the votes in the presidential election? Who declared, that the words of the constitutional provision for the government of the United States, "*the words republican government,*" were, and are, capable of *any meaning* and of course, *not obligatory*? Whose official and legislative printer has proposed, in New York, without check or prosecution by the president or governor Jay, the total destruction of the constitutional barriers of religious liberty, and the entire repeal of all our *Bills of Rights*,

by the abolition of all the state constitutions? Who proposed the subversion of the constitution of the United States, by vesting the appointment of an Upper house in the hands of the executive; making the senate of the Union a representation of the President, and no longer a representation of the States? who contravened the constitution, by exercising executive influence upon a judge, and exempting from prosecution a man previously expelled from the Senate, for high crimes and misdemeanors? Who kept col. Pickering, Mr. Wolcott, and McHenry in office, after their outraging a foreign state, by a convention at Philadelphia with its open enemy; amounting to an interference in and partition of the French empire, in the case of St. Domingo, contravening the constitutional power of congress to declare war! And who appointed a person a major general of the army, after official information to the government that he had avowed himself a monarchist?

After an investigation of these & other like questions, we would most cheerfully and respectfully submit to the people of Pennsylvania, and all the United States, whether a number of leading and weighty federal men have not "publicly avowed principles," and performed acts too, which threaten the peace of the country, and are calculated to subvert the constitution." Not only of the state but of the Union. We believe it to be the duty of the republican citizens, of all parties to commence an immediate and thorough examination into the monarchic, aristocratic, and unconstitutional views of many men

of public station and influence, in the United States. We know from certain authorities, that the taint is actual & real. We are fully sensible of the hatred and animosity which have been excited against those who are republicans. We have felt our share of the injuries they have sustained. We shall doubtless feel more. But we will not be guilty of silence. In executing our present duties, we declare, with the present attorney of the United States (Mr. Ingersoll) in the trial of Dr. Rush against William Cobbett, that "we are by choice, republicans; that we are so by oath; that the constitution of the U. States is a republican form of government & a republican form of government is guaranteed to each state." The same federal law officer emphatically declares, "the citizen of the United States who is not a republican, is a traitor." It is this republicanism which is the cause of so much hatred against Mr. Jefferson. It is in proof to us that one person who utters anathemas against him from the pulpit (Mr. Abercrombie) has, within a single year, avowed in the open streets, before a dozen or fifteen people, that he abhorred repubblicanism then, and from the beginning. We know with the deepest regret, and solemn concern, that another much more eminent and influential person (Alexander Hamilton, esqr.) who we fear, has written and promoted writings against Mr. Jefferson, beyond any other citizen, has certainly avowed himself a monarchist; and declared that though he favoured the first movements of the French revolutions he dropt them "on the 10th of

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August 1792, when the republic was established. Of these facts, we repeat, we are certain. The 10th of August 1792, was before the address of fraternity which France issued to the world, as America issued one in 1775, to Ireland. It was before the decree about the Scheldt; before the death of the king or of the queen of France. It was plainly then the republic, that was objected to. It is the *Republicanism* of Mr. Jefferson, that is the great cause of opposition to him. It is against the *Friends of Republicanism* that all that hatred and animosity was excited and has been used, which has at last been carried to such an extreme, as to impel the mild and decent *Lyman* from public into private life, and to rend the federal partisans asunder. We trust that no elector will omit to examine all the evidences he can command.

Having never had any disinclination to a liberal intercourse & perfect harmony with Great Britain, and censuring her and France, with equal decision and candor, for their injuries and insults, it was our sincere wish, that our treaty with Britain might be justly amended, rather than rejected, in 1795.—As it now stands, we respectfully rest it with the proper authorities. But in vindication of the disposition to amend it, we beg leave to remind you of some relative facts. It contained no provision, whatever, against spoliations subsequent to its date, in 1794; no condemnation of the grounds of the past; nor any security of payment for future spoliations. It has been so worded by both

parties, or so perverted by Great Britain, that a pamphlet against Mr. Pinckney admits that the British demands under the treaty are 21 millions of dollars; and bitterly reprobates our alleged delay to pay them.

The course of public conduct into which this country had gone since the adoption of that treaty, till of late, had so connected us with England, in regard to St. Domingo, &c. and their modes of expence, that the estimates of our federal expenditures, for the current year, are nearly 13 millions; and yet our trade suffers as much, at this time from Britain as from France. The provision article of the British, treaty subjects us to the odium and losses, of having the foreign enemy of England deprived of our bread when we should sell impartially to both sides. No nation ever endured such a deprivation, without resentment. We appeal to history, with perfect confidence. No nation upon earth ever consented to such a controul of her general provision-trade to unblockaded ports. We appeal to history again. But it may be urged, that we were to be paid 10 per cent. Must not this be inevitably interpreted into the price stipulated with one belligerent power, for our acquiescence in the most injurious privation of another belligerent power? But the price itself was injurious to ourselves, when France was in necessity; for then she gives more herself. It is deceptive at other times; for when provisions are low in France or her Colonies, England carries it, but does not buy, our cargoes. By the British treaty,

American cotton, which is fast advancing to be the most bulky and valuable export of our country, was not to be carried to foreign countries in *our own* vessels ! The security for the captures, before the treaty, has proved utterly fallacious ; for we have not yet received the amount of the bare charges of seeking justice before the distant tribunals of Great Britain. It is true, that we obtained our Western posts ; but if we remember well, it is equally true, that, before their delivery, the gallant *Wayne* had given a complete overthrow to the Indian armies, enough has been said we trust, clearly to evince, that a desire to *amend* such a treaty (and not to reject it was most unworthily treated by Mr. Pickering, when he represented the effort as "*nefarious conspiracy*" for its defeat. We wonder not, that the *Gazettes* of London lament his removal, as that of an American Cabinet Minister, "*much attached to the British interest.*" It is asserted, however, that he shews evidence, that he was removed, because he exerted himself against Mr. Adams's appointment of a Democratic Son in law in an important station ; and because he was himself endeavouring, by the election of General Pinckney, to prevent the election of Mr. Adams. Such is our evidence.

We believe, fellow citizens, that you must be duly impressed with our vast public contributions and expences ; with the monstrous claims upon us under the British treaty, with the uncompensated captures from 1793 to 1800, made by Britain no less than France ; and that it must

be clear to you, that we now suffer captures from England and disturbance from her partisans, because we have dared to seek justice from the French, and to send messengers of peace to that potent nation. But the course of public affairs has, in our opinions, clearly brought other very great evils upon the people of this country. An unprecedented naturalization law of fourteen years has doubled, from the hands of Mr. Adams and Mr. Pinckney's friends those injuries to our prosperity and population, of which America accused the king of G. Britain in the declaration of independence : for aliens were then admitted on seven years residence. The law in relation to alien friends, has, in our opinions, alarmed, disgusted, driven and kept away many laborers, manufacturers, mechanics, farmers, and buyers of unsettled lands.—These were particularly necessary, from our abolition of the slave trade, and other obvious reasons. It must now clearly appear, that the alien law was passed on unfounded suggestions of danger from foreigners ; for not one incautious Irishman or Frenchman has fallen into any misconduct requiring him to be sent away. In the beginning of the present federal government, it was the great attracting charm of our country, that we had no land or house tax, a trivial salt tax, no stamp duty, moderate custom house duties, and proportionate public expences.—The most prudent foreigners, of all the most estimable nations, crowded our markets and offices to purchase every description of property.—They invested large

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sums in useful improvements.— Embarrassed and alarmed by our long naturalization law, and our new alien law, and astonished at the encrease of our taxes, duties and expences, (produced, we fear, in no small degree, by that excited hostility against certain foreign nations, and that hatred of one another, which the federal publications confess) these foreigners have ceased to feed that prosperity which once existed: but which has vanished, in various respects, during the joint administration of the friends of Mr. Adams and Gen. Pinckney.—From every public and private opportunity of information which we possess, we are thoroughly convinced, that the stagnation of almost every kind of real and landed property, is owing to the joint operation of these causes.

It is because we confidently believe Mr. Jefferson is disposed to measures, which will check expenditure and taxation; give moderation and impartiality to our foreign intercourse; restore harmony and confidence among the friends of representative government of all parties; and preserve that candid piety, which flourishes beside religious liberty and the rights of conscience; it is for these important reasons, that we hope and trust that the public sentiments and dispositions will more and more unite in favour of the explained and vindicated character of Mr. Jefferson. It surely is, by this time clearly seen, that, to religious men, Mr. Jefferson has indisputably been the most useful character, since William Penn; and that he compares, to great advantage, with Mr. Adams and

general Pinckney. It must also be seen, that the letter to Mr. Mazzei, for which Mr. Jefferson has been so unworthily and so scandalously abused, is supported and justified by too many afflicting truths; and is an important evidence of his penetration and vigilance. The charge of a blind attachment to France has been artfully worked up by the labor of years—by the two British gazettes and their various foreign and American editors, and other foreign agents of various descriptions, by the whole animosity and hatred of party, and by all the devices of rivalry, envy and local interest. But in total contradiction to this charge, we call upon his opponents to shew their fellow citizens an example, in the conduct of Mr. Adams, or of the federal secretaries, or as impartial and independent measures to check and remove the offending ministers and agents of England as Mr. Jefferson manifested to check and remove the offending minister and agents of France, in 1793. No discreet federalist will risk the discussion.

Permit us republican fellow citizens, of whatever party you have heretofore been, permit us we say, to entreat your enlightened Union in the republican cause, on the 14th of October. Suffer us to exhort you, by all that you hold dear, to every exertion, consistent with order and decorum, on that eventful day. We have given you, at every hazard the true state of our affairs. Stay not, then at home on any account, on a day, which may prove more critical than any other that Pennsylvania has ever known. The sound practi-

cal equality of the Quaker, the equal brotherhood of the Moravian, the Mennonist, & the Dunker, the republican rights of conscience and of equal liberty, religious and civil, public economy, a liberal intercourse with all friendly nations, and the consequent blessings of safety and peace, are the benefits, which it will be the endeavour of Thomas Jefferson, in harmonious co-operation with the legislative body, to promote and maintain.

We have offered you no adulation of the character and talents of Mr. Jefferson. What we have yet said of him has been mere defensive and explanatory truth. But we must appeal to your general knowledge of him for some facts, which serve to characterize that distinguished citizen. It is known to us all that he has been long in public service; in war and in peace: in every change of our affairs. He has filled the highest post in his native state. He has succeeded the New England Franklin and the Pennsylvania Rittenhouse in the chair of science, and in the hearts of all its votaries, at home and abroad. He has exercised the high and complicated powers of a member of the old congress. He framed, amidst the doubts, the fears and the prejudices of 1776, that memorable instrument, by which America exhibited, for the first time, in the history of mankind, the example of a genuine republic—a real instance of a free people. He has executed, for years, your missions to foreign countries. He filled for a long time, your department of state, the secretaryship of your foreign and domestic affairs. In that capacity he has

left, in his British and French communications, of 1793, a monument of diplomatic knowledge and learning, judgment, fidelity, decision, impartiality, and independence, to which no other American public character can, as we believe, exhibit an equal volume. He has been an instrument, in the hands of providence to restore to the meek and humble, the precious solace of an *untrammelled conscience*—the pious reverential freedom of man with his divine Creator. He has filled the offices of vice president of the United States, and president of the federal Senate; where he has discountenanced all expensive, dangerous, and unconstitutional measures; and has borne, unmoved, all those notorious obloquies, which have proceeded from foreign, monarchical emissaries and agents; from American printers, admitted to have been in foreign monarchical pay; from honest, mistaken, or unworthy opposing partisans, from known rivals and competitors and their powerful friends; from men, till now unacquainted with his services to religious liberty, and from American citizens, who are known and active enemies to our representative governments, and who are, therefore on the respectable opinion of Mr. Attorney Ingersoll, traitors to the constitutions of our country. Such have been a very active part of the opposers of Mr. Jefferson: and such are the character and importance which historical truth attaches to his person and his name.

We have laid before you, fellow citizens, many alarming facts. We have spoken to you in true, though plain language.

The same is now spoken throughout the continent. We have pointed out witnesses whom you may examine. We can mention others. All the persons, whose names we have mentioned, have too much respect for truth, to deny the verity of our information. This domestic state of republicanism alarms us greatly. We see other connected dangers. When the able and energetic head of a great foreign nation,* delivering himself as a member of the supreme power of his country explicitly proclaims "to all nations," that the inventors of our doctrines, of equal religious and civil rights and of the authority of a free people, in their own jurisdiction, are enemies of the human race; it becomes the bounden duty of every faithful American to consider, with all his prudence, the impressive monitory fact. But, when that very foreign minister, with his potent colleagues, avows, that they have long formed a party in their favour in the bosom of our country; when they corrupt and purchase our principal executive and legislative printer; when our chief magistrates are convinced that the same foreign ministry has exercised with success, much of its influence (though ever so unconsciously) upon the pure and unsuspected Washington; when a known comploter with the same foreign nation, though expelled from the senate on proof of the crime, is not prosecuted by our executive for the offence, when our expensive and reluctant navy is made to witness the unremitted depredations of the

same foreign nation on our trade, when the most partial and most powerful American friend of that nation, though certainly known to the Secretary of State to be a real and avowed monarchist, is introduced, under the name of Washington, to the command, in fact, of 117,000 hired regulars and party and monarchic volunteers; when a distinguished member of the federal government, gray in his country's service, thoroughly knows, and dares not, for the hatred he would draw down, to make public the monarchism of the government; when hatred and animosity beyond the law, are thus propagated against the sincere and faithful friends of our elective constitution, upon the plea that they are dangerous opponents to our national government; and the 'reign of terror' and banishment or death, are presented to the investigators of the predatory operations of the same foreign power; it becomes an indispensable duty, on those, who are informed in the case, to warn a virtuous unsuspecting people, whose agents, they are, of the real and immense dangers with which they, and their constitutions, the governments of their choice are menaced and encompassed.

We are Fellow citizens,
Your sincere and faithful
friends,

*Tench Cox,
Timothy Matlack,
Frederick A. Muhlenburg,
Jacob Carpenter,
Samuel Bryan.*

*MR. PITT.

VALEDICTORY ADDRESS
TO THE
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES,
BY
George Washington,
On his Declension of a Re-election to the Presidency.

THE period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, & continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called

me, have been an uniform sacrifice of inclination to opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you;—but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust I will only say, that I have

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with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the honors it has conferred on me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—

in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected.—Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that in fine, the happiness of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me to an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, & which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to

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bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former, and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so ; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad ; of your safety ; of your prosperity ; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth ; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness ; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it ; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity ; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety ; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, & indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to

enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exult the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together ; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefitting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated—and

while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring coun-

tries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty—in this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should

have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations: Northern and Southern—Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from those misrepresentations: They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection.—The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the MISSISSIPPI; they have been witness to the formation of two treaties, that with Great-Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured?—Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanen-

cy of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable—No alliances, however strict between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions & interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced.—Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitution of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, contract, or awe the regular deliberation or action of the consti-

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tuted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of a fatal tendency. — They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly o-

verthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion, and remember, especially, — that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is indeed little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain in all the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit unfortunately is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in

all governments, more or less stifled, controuled or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or latter the chief of some prevailing faction more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of

one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and alluage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, confine themselves within their constitutional spheres avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us for the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of politi-

cal power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositaries, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates; but let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense and religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution

indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security cherish public credit, one method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expence by cultivating peace; but remembering also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expence, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate.

To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts, there must be revenue: that to have a revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all; Religion and Morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential

than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity, or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.—

Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils.—Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists; & infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the

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quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes with even popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, and to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the

most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate, to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships and enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance—when we may take

such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; so far I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let the engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consult-

ing the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience or circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation.—'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations.—But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn

against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1796, is the index to my plan.—Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance & firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary, on this occasion, to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent pow-

ers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolable the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducement of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience.—With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error; I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who

views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations ; I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws, under a free government

—the ever favourite object of my heart and the happy reward, as I trust of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, }
17th September 1796. }

OF TESTS.

Their supposed advantages are attended with injustice—are nugatory. Illustration.—Their disadvantages.—They ensnare.—Example.—Second example.—They are an usurpation.—Influence of tests on the latitudinarian—on the purest.—Conclusion.

THE majority of the arguments above employed on the subject of penal laws in matters of opinion are equally applicable to tests, religious and political. The distinction between prizes and penalties, between greater and less, has little tendency to change the state of the question if any discouragement extended to the curiosity of intellect, and any authoritative countenance afforded to one set of opinions in preference to another, be in its own nature unjust, and evidently hostile to the general good.

Leaving out of the consideration religious tests, as being already sufficiently elucidated in the preceding discussion let us attend for a moment to an article which has had its advocates among men of considerable liberality, the supposed propriety of political tests. “ Shall we have no federal oaths, no oaths of fidelity to the nation, the law and the republic ? how in that case shall we ever distinguish be-

tween the enemies and the friends of freedom ? ”

Certainly there cannot be a method devised for this purpose at once more ineffectual and iniquitous than a federal oath. What is the language that in strictness of interpretation belongs to the act of the legislature imposing this oath ? To one party it says, “ We know that you are our friends ; the oath as it relates to you we acknowledge to be altogether superfluous ; nevertheless you must take it, as a cover to our indirect purposes in imposing it upon persons whose views are less unequivocal than yours.” To the other party it says. “ It is vehemently suspected that you are inimical to the cause in which we are engaged : this suspicion is either true or false ; if false, we ought not to suspect you, and much less ought we to put you to this corrupting and nugatory purgation ; if true, you will either candidly confess your difference, or dishonestly

prevaricate ; be candid, and we will indignantly banish you ; be dishonest, and we will receive you as bosom friends."

Those who say this however promise too much. Duty and common sense oblige us to watch the man we suspect, even though he should swear he is innocent. Would not the same precautions which we are still obliged to employ to secure us against his duplicity, have sufficiently answered our purpose without putting him to his purgation ? Are there no methods, by which we can find out whether a man be the proper subject in whom to repose an important trust, without putting the question to himself ? Will not he, who is so dangerous an enemy that we cannot suffer him at large, discover his enmity by his conduct, without reducing us to the painful necessity of tempting him to an act of prevarication ? If he be so subtle a hypocrite that all our vigilance cannot detect him, will he scruple to add to his other crimes the crime of perjury ?

Whether the test we impose be merely intended to operate as an exclusion from office, or to any more considerable disadvantage, the disability it introduces is still in the nature of a punishment. It treats the individual in question as an unsound member of society, as distinguished in an unfavourable sense from the multitude of his countrymen, and possessing certain attributes detrimental to the general good. In the eye of reason human nature is capable of no other guilt than this. Society is authorised to animad-

vert upon a certain individual, in the case of murder for example not because he has done an action that he might have avoided, not because he was sufficiently informed of the better and obstinately chose the worse ; for this is impossible, every man necessarily does that which he at the time apprehends to be best : but because his habits and character render him dangerous to society, in the same sense as a wolf or a blight would be dangerous. It must no doubt be an emergency of no common magnitude, that can justify a people in putting a mark of displeasure upon a man for the opinions he entertains, be they what they may. But taking for granted for the present the propriety of such a measure, it would certainly be just as equitable for the government to administer to the man accused for murder an oath of purgation, as to the man accused of disaffection to the established order of society. The reason of this injustice is to be found in the nature of punishment. You have a right to propose to your neighbour what questions you please, and in most cases at least duty would instruct him to answer you. But when you punish a man, you suspend the treatment that is due to him as a rational being, and consequently your own claim to a reciprocation of that treatment. You demand from him an impartial confession, at the same time that you employ a most powerful motive to prevarication, and menace him with a serious injury in return for his ingenuousness.

These reasonings being particularly applicable to a people in a state of revolution like the French, it may perhaps be allowable to take from their revolution an example of the injurious and ensnaring effects with which tests and usually oaths of fidelity are attended. It was required of all men to swear, "that they would be faithful to the nation, the law and the king." In what sense can they be said to have adhered to their oath, who, twelve months after their constitution had been established on its new basis, have taken a second oath, declaratory of their everlasting abjuration of monarchy? What sort of effect, favourable or unfavourable? must this precarious mutability in their solemn appeals to heaven have upon the minds of those by whom they are made?

And this leads us from the consideration of the supposed advantages of tests religious & political, to their real disadvantages. The first of these disadvantages consists in the impossibility of constructing a test in such a manner, as to suit the various opinions of those upon whom it is imposed, and not to be liable to reasonable objection. When the law was repealed imposing upon the dissenting clergy of England a subscription with certain reservations, to the articles of the established church, an attempt was made to invent an unexceptionable test that might be substituted in its room. This test simply affirmed, "that the books of the Old and New Testament in the opinion of the person who took it, contained a revelation from God;" and

it was supposed that no christian could scruple such a declaration. But is it impossible that I should be a christian, and yet doubt of the canonical authority of the amatory eclogues of Solomon, or of certain other books contained in a selection that was originally made in a very arbitrary manner? "Still however I may take the test, with a persuasion that the books of the Old and New Testament contain a revelation from God, and something more." In the same sense I might take it, even if the Alcoran, the Talmud and the sacred books of the Hindoos were added to the list. What sort of influence will be produced upon the mind that is accustomed to this looseness of construction in its most solemn engagements?

Let us examine with the same view the federal oath of the French, proclaiming the determination of the swearer, "to be faithful to the nation, the law and king." Fidelity to three several interests, which may in various cases be placed in opposition to each other, will appear at first sight to be no very reasonable engagement. The propriety of vowing fidelity to the king has already been brought to the trial and received its condemnation. Fidelity to the law is an engagement of so complicated a nature, as to strike terror into every mind of serious reflection. It is impossible that a system of law the composition of men should ever be presented to such a mind, that shall appear altogether faultless. But, with respect to laws that appear to me to be unjust, I am

bound to every sort of hostility short of open violence; I am bound to exert myself incessantly in proportion to the magnitude of the injustice for their abolition. Fidelity to the nation is an engagement scarcely less equivocal. I have a paramount engagement to the cause of justice and the benefit of the human race. If the nation undertake what is unjust, fidelity in that undertaking is a crime. If it undertake what is just, it is my duty to promote its success, not because I was born one of its citizens, but because such is the command of justice.

Add to this what has been already said upon the subject of obedience, and it will be sufficiently evident that all tests are the offspring of usurpation. Government has in no case a right to issue its commands, and therefore cannot command me to take a certain oath. Its only legal functions are, to impose upon me a certain degree of restraint whenever I manifest by my actions a temper detrimental to the community, and to invite me to a certain contribution for purposes conducive to the general interest.

It may be alledged with respect to the French federal oath, as well as with respect to the religious test before cited, that it may be taken with a certain laxity of interpretation. When I swear fidelity to the law, I may mean only that there are certain parts of it that I approve. When I swear fidelity to the nation, the law and the king, I may mean so far only as these three authorities shall agree with

each other, and all of them agree with the general welfare of mankind. In a word, the final result of this laxity of interpretation explains the oath to mean, "I swear, that I believe it is my duty to do every thing that appears to me to be just." Who can look without indignation and regret at this prostitution of language? Who can think without horror of the consequences of the public and perpetual lesson of duplicity which is thus read to mankind?

But, supposing there should be certain members of the community, simple and uninstructed enough to conceive, that an oath contained some real obligation, and did not leave the duty of the person to whom it was administered precisely where it found it, what is the lesson that would be read to such members? They would listen with horror to the man who endeavored to persuade them that they owed no fidelity to the nation, the law and the king, as to one who was instigating them to sacrilege. They would tell him that it was too late, and that they must not allow themselves to hear his arguments. They would perhaps have heard enough before their alarm commenced, to make them look with envy on the happy state of this man, who was free to listen to the communications of others without terror, who could give a loose to his thoughts, and intrepidly follow the course of his enquiries wherever they lead him. For themselves they had promised to think no more for the rest of their lives. Compliance indeed in this case is im-

possible; but will a vow of inviolable adherence to a certain constitution have no effect in checking the vigour of their contemplations and the elasticity of their minds?

We put a miserable deception upon ourselves, when we promise ourselves the most favourable effects from the abolition of monarchy and aristocracy, and retain this wretched system of tests, overturning in the apprehensions of mankind at large the fundamental distinctions of justice and injustice. Sincerity is not less essential than equality to the well being of mankind. A go-

vernment that is perpetually furnishing motives to jesuitism and hypocrisy, is not less abhorrent to right reason, than a government of orders and hereditary distinction. It is not easy to imagine how soon men would become frank, explicit in their declarations, and unreserved in their manners, were there no positive institutions inculcating upon them the necessity of falsehood and disguise. Nor is it possible for any language to describe the inexhaustible benefits that would arise from the universal practice of sincerity.

OF TITLES.

Their origin and history.—Their miserable absurdity.—Truth the only adequate reward of merit.

THE case of mere titles is so absurd that it would deserve to be treated only with ridicule, were it not for the serious mischief it imposes on mankind. The feudal system was a ferocious monster devouring wherever it came all that the friend of humanity regards with attachment and love. The system of titles appears under a different form. The monster is at length destroyed, and they who followed in his train, and fattened upon the carcasses of those he slew, have stuffed his skin, and by exhibiting it hope still to terrify mankind into patience and pusillanimity. The system of the Northern invaders, however odious, escaped the ridicule of the system of titles. When the feudal chieftains assumed a geographical appellation, it was from some place really sub-

ject to their authority; and there was no more absurdity in the style they assumed, than in our calling a man at present the governor of Tangiers or the governor of Gibraltar. The commander in chief or the sovereign did not then give an empty name; he conferred an earldom or a barony, a substantial tract of land, with houses and men, and producing a real revenue. He now grants nothing but a privilege equivalent to that of calling yourself Tom who were before time called Will; and, to add to the absurdity, your new appellation is borrowed from some place perhaps you never saw, or some country you never visited. The style however is the same; We are still earls and barons, governors of provinces and commanders of forts, and that

with the same evident propriety as the elector of Hanover and arch treasurer of the empire styles himself king of France.

Can there be any thing more ludicrous, than that the man who was yesterday Mr. St. John, the most eloquent speaker of the British house of commons, the most penetrating thinker, the umpire of maddening parties, the restorer of peace to bleeding and exhausted Europe, should be to-day lord Bolingbroke? In what is he become greater and more venerable than he was? In the pretended favour of a stupid and besotted woman, who always hated him, as she uniformly hated talents and virtue, though for her own interest she was obliged to endure him.

The friends of a man upon whom a title has recently been conferred, must either be wholly blinded by the partiality of friendship not to feel the ridicule of his situation, or completely debased by the parasitical spirit of dependence not to betray their feelings. Every time they essay to speak they are in danger of blundering upon the inglorious appellations of Mr. and Sir*. Every time their tongue falters with unconfirmed practice, the question rushes upon them with irresistible force, "What change has my old friend undergone: in what is he wiser or better, happier or more honourable?" The first week of a new title is a perpetual war of the feelings in every spectator, the genuine dictates of common sense against the arbitrary institutions of society. To make the farce more

perfect these titles are subject to perpetual fluctuations, and the man who is to-day earl of Kensington, will to-morrow resign with unblushing effrontery all appearance of character and honour to be called marquis of Kew. History labours under the Gothic and unintelligible burden; no mortal patience can connect the different stories of him who is to-day lord Kimbolton, and to-morrow earl of Manchester; to-day earl of Mulgrave, and to-morrow marquis of Normanby and duke of Buckinghamshire.

The absurdity of these titles strikes us the more, because they are usually the reward of intrigue & corruption. But, were it otherwise, still they would be unworthy of the adherents of reason and justice. When we speak of Mr. St. John, as of the man, who by his eloquence swayed contending parties, who withdrew the conquering sword from suffering France, and gave thirty years of peace and calm pursuit of the arts of life and wisdom to mankind, we speak of something eminently great. Can any title express these merits? Is not truth the consecrated and single vehicle of justice? Is not the plain and simple truth worth all the cunning substitutions in the world? Could an oaken garland or a gilded coronet have added one atom to his real greatness? Garlands and coronets may be bestowed on the unworthy, and prostituted to the intriguing. Till mankind be satisfied with the naked statement of what they really perceive, till they confess

* In reality these appellations are little less absurd than those by which they are superseded.

virtue to be then most illustrious when she most disdains the aid of ornament, they will never arrive at that manly justice of sentiment, at which they are destined one day to arrive. By this scheme of naked truth, virtue will be every day a gainer ; eve-

ry succeeding observer will more fully do her justice, while vice deprived of that varnish with which she delighted to gloss her actions, of that gaudy exhibition which may be made alike by every pretender, will speedily sink into unheeded contempt.

ON ELEGIAC POETRY.

From MISCELLANEOUS WORKS, by J. BLAIR LINN.

MASON and Gray, whom congeniality of disposition had connected in the strongest and dearest ties, seem to partake equally of the poetic spirit. So delightful is the contemplation of friendship in theory, that human nature is greatly prepossessed in favour of that person who is the happy possessor of it. The friendship which subsisted between Epaminondas and Pelopidas, those godlike Thebans, has no doubt increased, in our opinion, their other virtues ; and

the friendship of Mason and Gray has, in the amiable and tender bosom, enhanced their poetic talents. While we endeavour to strew a laurel over the tomb of the harmonious Gray, the memory of his celebrated friend will always occur. Mason's elegies on the death of Lady Coventry, and on the departure of a young nobleman, are his most elegant performances of this kind. I shall extract a few verses from each of these.

Whene'er with soft serenity she smil'd,
Or caught the orient blush of quick surprise,
How sweetly mutable, how brightly wild
The liquid lustre darted from her eyes!

Each look, each motion wak'd a new born grace,
That o'er her form its transient glory cast:
Some lovelier wonder soon usurp'd the place,
Chas'd by a charm still lovelier than the last.

That bell again ! it tells us what she is
Or what she was ; no more the strain prolong,
Luxuriant fancy pause ! an hour like this
Demands the tribute of a serious song.

Maria claims it from that sable bier,
Where cold and wan the slumberer rests her head,
In still small whispers to reflection's ear
She breathes the solemn dictates of the dead;

ON ELEGIAC POETRY. (353)

O catch the awful notes, and lift them loud!
Proclaim the theme by sage and fool rever'd
Hear it ye young, ye vain, ye great, ye proud,
'Tis nature speaks, and nature will be heard.

LADY COVENTRY.

Go then, my friend, nor let thy candid breast
Condemn me if I check the plausible string:
Go to the wayward world complete the rest,
Be what the purest muse would wish to sing.

Be still thyself: that open path of truth
Which led the here, let manhood firm pursue;
Retain the sweet simplicity of youth,
And all thy virtue dictates—dare to do.

Still scorn with conscious pride the mask of art,
On vice's front let fearful caution low'r,
And teach the diffident discreeter part
Of knaves that plot, and fools that fawn for pow'r.

So round thy brow, when age's honours spread,
When death's cold hand, unstrings thy Mason's lyre,
When the green turf lies lightly on his head,
Thy worth shall some superior bard inspire.

He on the amplest bounds of time's domain,
On rapture's plume shall give thy name a fly,
For truth with rev'rence, trust his Sabine strain,
The muse forbids the virtuous man to die.

TO A YOUNG NOBLEMAN.

THERE have been some critics who have endeavoured to deprive Mason and Gray of some of their poetical laurels; but without success. The understandings and the breasts of the true lovers of poetry, have ever bestowed the highest approbation on their feeling muse: the morose critic and envious rival may snarl and bark, but a certain criterion inherent in the poetic bosom will always pay the tribute of applause. Gray has found many defenders to vindicate the injured cause of his muse. When the plaintive bard paid

his last debt of nature, he left behind his beloved Mason to pour in solitude his strain, and to be the champion of his friend. Mr. Temple in his life of this poet, pronounces him to be the most learned man in England; and that without having made the least application, and without the expectation of such an event, he was appointed professor of history in Oxford College. Nor did Temple write with the enthusiasm of friendship, for among the numerous virtues of Gray, he relates his blemishes and faults.

(354) CONSTITUTION of MARYLAND.

A DECLARATION of RIGHTS, and the Constitution and Form of Government, agreed to by the Delegates of MARYLAND, in free and full Convention assembled.

A DECLARATION of RIGHTS, &c.

THE Parliament of Great Britain, by a declaratory act, having assumed a right to make laws to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever, and, in pursuance of such a claim, endeavoured by force of arms, to subjugate the United Colonies to an unconditional submission to their will and power, and having at length constrained them to declare themselves independent states, and to assume government under the authority of the people:—Therefore, we the Delegates of Maryland, in free and full convention assembled, taking into our most serious consideration the best means of establishing a good constitution in this state, for the sure foundation and more permanent security thereof, declare,

I. That all government, of right, originates from the people, is founded in compact only, and instituted solely for the good of the whole.

II. That the people of this state ought to have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police thereof.

III. That the inhabitants of Maryland are entitled to the common law of England, and the trial by jury, according to the course of that law, and to the benefit of such of the English

statutes, as existed at the time of their first emigration, and which, by experience, have been found applicable to their local and other circumstances, and of such others as have been since made in England, or Great Britain, and have been introduced, used, and practised, by the courts of law or equity; and also to all acts of Assembly, in force on the first of June, seventeen hundred and seventy-four, except such as may have since expired, or have been, or may be altered by acts of convention, or this declaration of rights—subject nevertheless, to the revision of, and amendment or repeal by, the legislature of this state: and the inhabitants of Maryland are also entitled to all property, derived to them from or under the charter, granted by his majesty Charles I. to Cæcilius Calvert, baron of Baltimore.

IV. That all persons invested with the legislative or executive powers of government, are the trustees of the public, and, as such, accountable for their conduct; wherefore, whenever the ends of government are perverted, and public liberty manifestly endangered, and all other means of redress are ineffectual, the people may, and of right ought, to reform the old or establish a new government. The doctrine

of non-resistance, against arbitrary power and oppression, is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind.

V. That the right in the people, to participate in the legislature, is the best security of liberty, and the foundation of all free government; for this purpose, elections ought to be free and frequent, and every man, having property in, a common interest with, and an attachment to the community, ought to have a right of suffrage.

VI. That the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of government, out to be for ever separate and distinct from each other.

VII. That no power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, unless by, or derived from the legislature, ought to be exercised or allowed.

VIII. That freedom of speech and debates, or proceedings in the legislature, ought not to be impeached in any other court or judicature.

IX. That a place for the meeting of the legislature, ought to be fixed, the most convenient to the members thereof, and to the depository of public records; and the legislature ought not to be convened or held at any other place, but from evident necessity.

X. That, for redress of grievances, and for amending, strengthening, and preserving the laws, the legislature ought to be frequently convened.

XI. That every man hath a right to petition the legislature, for the redress of grievances, in a peaceable and orderly manner.

XII. That no aid, charge,

tax, fee, or fees, ought to be set, rated, or levied, under any pretence, without consent of the legislature.

XIII. That the levying taxes by the poll is grievous and oppressive, and ought to be abolished; that paupers ought not to be assessed for the support of government; but every other person in the state ought to contribute his proportion of public taxes for the support of government, according to his actual worth, in real or personal property, within the state; yet fines, duties or taxes, may properly and justly be imposed or laid, with a political view, for the good government and benefit of the community.

XIV. That sanguinary laws ought to be avoided, as far as is consistent with the safety of the state: and no law, to inflict cruel and unusual pains and penalties, ought to be made in any case, or at any time hereafter.

XV. That retrospective laws, punishing facts committed before the existence of such laws, and by them only declared criminal, are oppressive, unjust, and incompatible with liberty; wherefore no *ex post facto* law ought to be made.

XVI. That no law to attain particular persons of treason or felony ought to be made in any case, or any time hereafter.

XVII. That every freeman, for any injury done him in his person or property, ought to have remedy, by the course of the law of the land, and ought to have justice and right, freely without sale, fully without any denial, and speedily without de-

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lay, according to the law of the land.

XVIII. That the trial of facts, where they arise, is one of the greatest securities of the lives, liberties, and estates of the people.

XIX. That, in all criminal prosecutions, every man hath a right to be informed of the accusation against him; to have a copy of the indictment or charge in due time (if required) to prepare for his defence; to be allowed counsel: to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have process for his witnesses; to examine the witnesses for and against him, on oath; and to a speedy trial by an impartial jury, without whose unanimous consent, he ought not to be found guilty.

XX. That no man ought to be compelled to give evidence against himself, in a common court of law, or in any other court, but in such cases, as have usually been practised in this state, or may hereafter be directed by the Legislature.

XXI. That no freeman ought to be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, liberties, or privileges, or outlawed, or exiled, or any manner destroyed, or deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

XXII. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel or unusual punishments inflicted, by the courts of law.

XXIII. That all warrants, without oath or affirmation, to search suspected places, or to seize any person or property, are grievous and oppressive; and

all general warrants—to search suspected places, or to apprehend suspected persons, without naming or describing the place, or the person in special—are illegal and ought not to be granted.

XXIV. That there ought to be no forfeiture of any part of the estate of any person, for any crime except murder, or treason against the state, and then only on conviction and attainder.

XXV. That a well regulated militia is the proper and natural defence of a free government.

XXVI. That standing armies are dangerous to liberty, and ought not to be raised or kept up, without consent of the Legislature.

XXVII. That in all cases, & at all times, the military ought to be under strict subordination to, and controul of the civil power.

XXVIII. That no soldier ought to be quartered in any house in time of peace, without the consent of the owner; and in time of war, in such manner only, as the Legislature shall direct.

XXIX. That no person, except regular soldiers, mariners and marines in the service of this state, or militia when in actual service, ought in any case to be subject to, or punishable by martial law.

XXX. That the independency and uprightness of judges are essential to the impartial administration of justice, and a great security to the rights and liberties of the people; wherefore the chancellor and judges ought to hold commissions during good behaviour; and the said chancellor and judges shall be re-

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moved for misbehaviour, on conviction in a court of law, and may be removed by the Governor, upon the address of the General Assembly: provided that two thirds of all the members of each House concur in such address. That salaries, liberal, but not profuse, ought to be secured to the chancellor and the judges, during the continuance of their commissions, in such manner, and at such times, as the Legislature shall hereafter direct, upon consideration of the circumstances of this state. No chancellor or judge ought to hold any other office, civil or military, or receive fees or perquisites of any kind.

XXXI. That a long continuance, in the first executive departments of power or trust, is dangerous to liberty; a rotation, therefore, in those departments, is one of the best securities of permanent freedom.

XXXII. That no person ought to hold, at the same time, more than one office of profit, nor ought any person, in public trust, to receive any present from any foreign prince or state, or from the United States, or any of them, without the approbation of this state.

XXXIII. That, as it is the duty of every man, to worship God in such manner, as he thinks most acceptable to him, all persons, professing the Christian religion, are equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty; wherefore no person ought by any law, to be molested in his person or estate, on account of his religious persuasion or profession, or for his religious practice; unless, under colour of religion, any man shall disturb the good

order, peace, or safety of the state, or shall infringe the laws of morality, or injure others in their natural, civil, or religious rights: nor ought any person to be compelled to frequent, or maintain, or contribute, unless on contract, to maintain any particular place of worship, or any particular ministry; yet the Legislature may, in their discretion, lay a general and equal tax, for the support of the Christian religion; leaving to each individual the power of appointing the payment over of the money, collected from him, to the support of any particular place of worship or minister, or for the benefit of the poor of his own denomination, or the poor in general of any particular county: but the churches, chapels, glebes, and all other property, now belonging to the church of England, ought to remain to the church of England forever. And all acts of Assembly, lately passed, for collecting monies for building or repairing particular churches or chapels of ease, shall continue in force, and be executed, unless the Legislature shall, by act, supersede or repeal the same: but no county court shall assess any quantity of tobacco, or sum of money, hereafter, on the application of any vestry-men or church wardens; and every encumbent of the church of England, who hath remained in his parish, and performed his duty, shall be entitled to receive the provision and support established by the act, entitled "An act, for the support of the clergy of the church of England, in this province," till the November court of this present year, to be held for the county in which his parish shall lie, or partly lie, or for such time as he hath

remained in his parish, and performed his duty.

XXXIV. That every gift, sale, or devise of lands, to any minister, public teacher, or preacher, of the gospel, as such, or to any religious sect, order, or denomination, or to, or for the support, use, or benefit of, or in trust for, any minister, public teacher, or preacher, of the gospel, as such, or any religious sect, order, or denomination—and every gift or sale of goods, or chattels, to go in succession, or to take place after the death of the seller or doner, or to, or for such support, use or benefit—and also every devise of goods or chattels to, or for the support, use, or benefit of any minister, public teacher, or preacher of the gospel, as such, or any religious sect, order, or denomination, without the leave of the legislature, shall be void; except always any sale, gift, lease, or devise of any quantity of land, not exceeding two acres, for a church, meeting, or other house of worship, and for a burying ground, which shall be improved, enjoyed, or used only for such purpose—or such sale, gift, lease, or devise, shall be void.

XXXV. That no other test or qualification ought to be required, on admission to any office of trust or profit, than such oath of support and fidelity to this state, and such oath of office, as shall be directed by this convention, or the legislature of this state, and a declaration of a belief in the Christian religion.

XXXVI. That the manner of administering an oath to any person, ought to be such, as those of the religious persuasion, profession, or denomination, of which

such person is one, generally esteem the most effectual confirmation, by the attestation of the Divine Being. And that the people called Quakers, those called Dunkers, and those called Menonists, holding it unlawful to take an oath on any occasion, ought to be allowed to make their solemn affirmation, in the manner that Quakers have been heretofore allowed to affirm; & to be of the same avail as an oath, in all such cases, as the affirmation of Quakers hath been allowed and accepted within this state, instead of an oath. And further, on such affirmation, warrants to search for stolen goods, or for the apprehension or commitment of offenders, ought to be granted, or security for the peace awarded, and Quakers, Dunkers, or Menonists, ought also, on their solemn affirmation, as aforesaid, to be admitted as witnesses, in all criminal cases not capital.

XXXVII. That the city of Annapolis ought to have all its rights, privileges, and benefits, agreeable to its charter, and the acts of Assembly confirming and regulating the same, subject nevertheless to such alterations as may be made by this Convention or any future Legislature.

XXXVIII. That the liberty of the press ought to be inviolably preserved.

XXXIX. That monopolies are odious, contrary to the spirit of a free government, and the principles of commerce; and ought not to be suffered.

XL. That no title of nobility or hereditary honours, ought to be granted in this state.

XLI. That the subsisting resolves of this, and the several

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convention, held for the colony, ought to be in force, as laws, unless altered by this convention, or the legislature of this state.

XLII. That this Declaration of Rights or the Form of Government, to be established by this convention, or any part or either of them, ought not to be altered, changed or abolished, by the legislature of this state, but in such manner as this convention shall prescribe and direct.

This declaration of rights was assented to, and passed, in convention of the delegates of the freemen of Maryland, begun and held at Annapolis, the 14th day of August A. D. 1776.

By order of the convention,
MAT. TILGHMAN,
President.

THE CONSTITUTION OR FORM of GOVERNMENT; &c.

I. That the legislature consist of two distinct branches, a Senate and House of Delegates, which shall be styled, The General Assembly of Maryland.

II. That the house of delegates shall be chosen in the following manner: All freemen, above twenty one years of age, having a freehold of fifty acres of land in the county, in which they offer to vote, and residing therein—and all freemen, having property in this state, above the value of thirty pounds current money, and having resided in the county, in which they offer to vote, one whole year next preceding the election—shall have a right of suffrage, in the election of de-

legates for such county: and all freemen so qualified, shall on the first Monday of October, seventeen hundred and seventy seven, and on the same day in every year thereafter, assemble in the counties, in which they are respectively qualified to vote, at the court house in the said counties; or at such other place as the legislature shall direct; and when assembled, they shall proceed to elect, *viva voce*, four delegates for their respective counties of the most wise, sensible and discreet of the people, residents in the county, where they are to be chosen, one whole year next preceding the election, above twenty one years of age, and having, in the state, real or personal property, above the value of five hundred pounds current money; and upon the final casting of the polls, the four persons who shall appear to have the greatest number of legal votes shall be declared and returned duly elected for their respective counties.

III. That the sheriff of each county, or, in case of sickness, his deputy, (summoning two justices of the county, who are required to attend for the preservation of the peace) shall be the judges of the election, and may adjourn from day to day, if necessary, till the same be finished, so that the whole election shall be concluded in four days; and shall make his return thereof, under his hand, to the chancellor of this state for the time being.

IV. That all persons, qualified by the charter of the city of Annapolis, to vote for burgesses, shall on the same, first Monday of October, seventeen hundred

and seventy seven, and on the same day in every year for ever thereafter, elect, *viva voce*, by a majority of votes, two delegates, qualified agreeable to the said charter ; that the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen, of the said city, or any three of them, be judges of the election, appoint the place in the said city, for holding the same and may adjourn from day to day, as aforesaid, & shall make return thereof as aforesaid : but the inhabitants of the said city shall not be entitled to vote for delegates for Ann Arundle county, unless they have a freehold of fifty acres of land in the county distinct from the city.

V. That all persons, inhabitants of Baltimore town, and having the same qualifications, as electors in the county, shall, on the same first monday in October, seventeen hundred and seventy seven, and on the same day in every year forever thereafter, at such place in the said town, as the judges shall appoint, elect *viva voce*, by a majority of votes, two delegates, qualified as aforesaid : but if the said inhabitants of the town shall so decrease, as that a number of persons, having a right of suffrage therein, shall have been, for the space of seven years successively, less than one half the number of voters in some one county in this state, such town shall thenceforward cease to send two delegates or representatives to the house of delegates, until the said town shall have one half of the number of voters in some one county in this state.

VI. That the commissioners of the said town, or any three or more of them, for the time be-

ing, shall be judges of the said election, and may adjourn as aforesaid, and shall make return thereof as aforesaid : but the inhabitants of the said town shall not be entitled to vote for, or be elected, delegates for Baltimore county : neither shall the inhabitants of Baltimore county, out of the limits of Baltimore town, be entitled to vote for, or be elected, delegates for the said town.

VII. That on refusal, death, disqualification, resignation, or removal out of this state, of any delegate, or on his becoming governor, or member of the council, a warrant of election shall issue by the Speaker, for the election of another in his place ; of which ten days notice, at least (excluding the day of notice, and the day of election) shall be given.

VIII. That not less than a majority of the delegates, with their speaker (to be chosen by them, by ballot) constitute a house, for the transaction of any business, other than that of adjourning.

IX. That the house of delegates shall judge of of the elections and qualifications of delegates.

X. That the house of delegates may originate all money bills, propose bills to the senate, or receive those offered by that body ; and assent, dissent, or propose amendments ; that they may enquire, on the oath of witnesses, into all complaints, grievances, and offences, as the grand inquest of this state, and may commit any person, for any crime, to the public jail, there to remain till he be discharged by due course of law. They

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may expel any member, for a great misdemeanor, but not a second time for the same cause. They may examine and pass all accounts of the state, relating either to the collection or expenditure of the revenue, or appoint auditors to state and adjust the same. They may call for all public or official papers and records, and send for persons whom they may judge necessary to the course of their enquiries, concerning affairs relating to the public interest; and may direct all office bonds (which shall be made payable to the state) to be sued for any breach of duty.

XI. That the senate may be at full and perfect liberty to exercise their judgment in passing laws—and that they may not be compelled by the house of delegates, either to reject a money bill, which the emergency of affairs may require, or to assent to some other act of legislation, in their conscience and judgment, injurious to the public welfare—the house of delegates shall not on any occasion, or under any pretence, annex to, or blend with a money bill, any matter, clause, or thing, not immediately relating to, and necessary for the imposing, assessing, levying, or applying the taxes or supplies to be raised for the support of government, or the current expenses of the state: and to prevent altercation about such bills, it is declared, that no bill, imposing duties or customs for the mere regulation of commerce, or inflicting fines for the reformation of morals, or to enforce the execution of the laws, by which an incidental

revenue may arise, shall be accounted a money bill: but every bill assessing, levying or applying taxes or supplies for the support of government, or the current expences of the state, or appropriating money in the treasury, shall be deemed a money bill.

XII. That the house of delegates may punish, by imprisonment, any person who shall be guilty of a contempt in their view, by any disorderly or riotous behaviour, or by threats to, or abuse of their members, or by any obstruction to their proceedings. They may also punish, by imprisonment, any person, who shall be guilty of a breach of privilege, by arresting on civil process, or by assaulting any of their members, during their sitting, or on their way to or return from the house of delegates, or by any assault of, or obstruction to their officers, in the execution of any order or process, or by assaulting or obstructing any witness, or any other person, attending on, or on their way to, or from the house, or by rescuing any person committed by the house: and the senate may exercise the same power, in similar cases.

XIII. That the treasurers (one for the western, and another for the eastern shore) and the Commissioners of the loan office, may be appointed by the house of delegates, during their pleasure; and in case of refusal, death, resignation, disqualification, or removal out of the state, or any of the said commissioners or treasurers, in the recess of the general assembly, the governor, with the advice of the council, may

appoint and commission a fit and proper person to such vacant office, to hold the same until the meeting of the next general assembly.

XIV. That the senate be chosen in the following manner: all persons, qualified, as aforesaid, to vote for county Delegates, shall, on the first day of September, 1781, and the same day in every fifth year for ever thereafter, elect, *viva voce*, by a majority of votes, two persons for their respective counties (qualified as aforesaid, to be elected county Delegates (to be electors of the senate: and the sheriff of each county, or, in case of sickness, his deputy (summoning two justices of the county, who are required to attend, for the preservation of peace,) shall hold and be judge of the said election, and make return thereof, as aforesaid. And all persons qualified as aforesaid, to vote for the delegates for the city of Annapolis and Baltimore town, shall, on the same first Monday of September, 1781 and on the same day in every fifth year thereafter, elect, *viva voce*, by a majority of votes, one person for the said city and town respectively, qualified as aforesaid, to be elected a delegate for the said city and town respectively; the said election to be held in the same manner, as the election of delegates for the said city and town; the right to elect the said elector, with respect to Baltimore town, to continue as long, as the right to elect delegates for the said town.

XV. That the said electors of the senate meet at the city of Annapolis, or such other place as shall be appointed for convening

the Legislature, on the third Monday in September, 1781. and on the same day in every fifth year forever thereafter, & they, or any twenty-four of them so met, shall proceed to elect, by ballot, either out of their own body, or the people at large, fifteen senators (nine of whom to be residents on the western, and six to be residents on the eastern shore) men of the most wisdom, experience and virtue, above twenty five-years of age, residents of the state above three whole years next preceding the election, and having real and personal property, above the value of one thousand pounds current money.

XVI. That the senators shall be balloted for, at one and the same time, and out of the gentlemen residents of the western shore, who shall be proposed as senators, the nine who shall, on striking the ballots, appear to have the greatest number in their favour, shall be accordingly declared and returned duly elected; and out of the gentlemen, residents of the eastern shore, who shall be proposed as senators, the six who shall on striking the ballots, appear to have the greatest number in their favour, shall be accordingly declared and returned duly elected; and if two or more, on the same shore, shall have an equal number of ballots in their favour, by which the choice shall not be determined on the first ballot, then the electors shall again ballot before they separate, in which they shall be confined to the persons who on the first ballot shall have had an equal number; and they who shall have the greatest number in their favour on the

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second ballot, shall be accordingly declared and returned duly elected; and if the whole number should not thus be made up, because of an equal number on the second ballot still being in favour of two or more persons, then the election shall be determined by lot, between those who have equal numbers; which proceedings of the electors shall be certified under their hands, and returned to the chancellor for the time being.

XVII. That the electors of senators shall judge of the qualifications and elections of members of their body; and on a contested election, shall admit to a seat, as an elector, such qualified person, as shall appear to them to have the greatest number of legal votes in his favour.

XVIII. That the electors, immediately on their meeting, and before they proceed to the election of Senators, take such oath of support and fidelity to this state, as this Convention or the Legislature shall direct, and also an oath, "to elect, without favour, affection, partiality, or prejudice, such persons for senators as they, in their judgment and conscience, believe best qualified for the office."

XIX. That in case of refusal, death, resignation, disqualification, or removal out of this state, of any senator, or on his becoming governor, or a member of the council, the senate shall, immediately thereupon, or at their next meeting thereafter, elect, by ballot, (in the same manner as the electors are above directed to choose senators) another person in his place, for the residue of the said term of nine years.

XX. That not less than a majority of the senate, with their president, (to be chosen by them, by ballot) shall constitute a house, for the transacting any business, other than that of adjourning.

XXI. That the senate shall judge of the elections and qualifications of senators.

XXII. That the senate may originate any other, except money bills, to which their assent or dissent only shall be given; and may receive any other bills from the house of delegates, and assent, dissent, or propose amendments.

XXIII. That the general assembly meet annually, on the first Monday of November, and if necessary oftener.

XXIV. That each house shall appoint its own officers, and settle its own rules of proceeding.

XXV. That a person of wisdom, experience, and virtue, shall be chosen Governor, on the second Monday in November, seventeen hundred and seventy-seven, and on the second Monday in every year for ever thereafter, by the joint ballot of both houses, (to be taken in each house respectively,) deposited in the conference room; the boxes to be examined by a joint committee of both houses, and the numbers severally reported, that the appointment may be entered; which mode of taking the joint ballot of both houses, shall be adopted in all cases. But if two or more shall have an equal number of ballots in their favor, by which the choice shall not be determined on the first ballot, then a second ballot shall be taken which shall be confined to the persons, who on the first ballot, shall

have had an equal number ; and if the ballots should again be equal between two or more persons, then the election of the Governor shall be determined by lot, between those, who have equal numbers ; and if the person chosen Governor shall die, resign, remove out of the state, or refuse to act, (the general assembly sitting) the senate and house of delegates shall, immediately thereupon, proceed to a new choice, in manner aforesaid.

XXVI. That the senators and delegates, on the second Tuesday of November, seventeen hundred and seventy seven, and annually on the second Tuesday of November forever thereafter, elect by joint ballot (in the same manner as senators are directed to be chosen) five of the most sensible, discreet, and experienced men, above twenty five years of age, residents in the state above three years next preceding the election, and having therein a freehold of lands and tenements, above the value of one thousand pounds current money, to be the council to the Governor, whose proceedings shall be always entered on record, to any part whereof any member may enter his dissent, and their advice, if so required by the governor, or any member of the council, shall be given in writing, and signed by the members giving the same respectively ; which proceedings of the council shall be laid before the senate or house of delegates, when called for by them, or either of them. The council may appoint their own clerk, who shall take such oath of support and fidelity, to this state, as this convention, or the legislature, shall direct ; and of secrecy, in such matters, as he shall

be directed by the board to keep secret.

XXVII. That the delegates to congress, from this state, shall be chosen annually, or superseeded in the mean time, by the joint ballot of both houses of assembly ; and that there be a rotation, in such manner, that at least two of the number be annually changed ; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate to congress for more than three in any term of six years ; and no person, who holds any office of profit in the gift of congress, shall be eligible to sit in congress ; but if appointed to any such office his seat shall be thereby vacated. That no person, unless above twenty one years of age, and a resident in the state more than five years next preceding the election, and having real and personal estate in this state, above the value of one thousand pounds current money, shall be eligible to sit in congress.

XXVIII. That the senators and delegates, immediately on their annual meeting, and before they proceed to any business, and every person, hereafter elected a senator or delegate before he acts as such—shall take an oath of support and fidelity to this state, as aforesaid ; and before the election of a governor, or members of the council, shall take an oath “ to elect without favour, affection, partiality, or prejudice, such person as governor, or member of the council, as they in their judgement and conscience, believe best qualified for the office.”

XXIX. That the senate and delegates may adjourn themselves respectively : but if the two houses should not agree on the same time, but adjourn to

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different days, then shall the governor appoint and notify one of those days, or some day between—and the assembly shall then meet and be held accordingly : and he shall, if necessary, by advice of the council, call them before the time, to which they shall in any manner be adjourned, on giving not less than ten days notice thereof : but the governor shall not adjourn the assembly, otherwise than as aforesaid, nor prorogue or dissolve it at any time.

XXX. That no person, unless above twenty five years of age, a resident of this state above five years next preceding the election—and having in the state real and personal property, above the value of five thousand pounds current money, (one thousand pounds whereof, at least, to be freehold estate) shall be eligible as governor.

XXXI. That the governor shall not continue in that office, longer than three years successively, nor be eligible as governor, until the expiration of four years, after he shall have been out of that office.

XXXII. That upon the death, resignation, or removal out of this state, of the governor, the first named of the council, for the time being, shall act as governor, and qualify in the same manner, and shall immediately call a meeting of the general assembly, giving not less than fourteen days notice of the meeting, at which meeting, a governor shall be appointed, in manner aforesaid, for the residue of the year.

XXXIII. That the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the council, may embody

the militia ; and, when embodied, shall alone have the direction thereof ; and shall also have the direction of all the regular land and sea forces, under the laws of this state, (but he shall not command in person, unless advised thereto by the council, and then only so long, as they shall approve thereof ;) and may alone exercise all other the executive powers of government, where the concurrence of the council is not required, according to the laws of this state, and grant reprieves or pardons, for any crime, except in such cases where the law shall otherwise direct ; and may during the recess of the general assembly, lay embargoes, to prevent the departure of any shipping, or the exportation of any commodities, for any time not exceeding thirty days in any one year—summoning the general assembly to meet within the time of the continuance of such embargo ; and may also order and compel any vessel to ride quarantine, if such vessel, or the port from which she may have come, shall, on strong grounds, be suspected to be infected with the plague ; but the governor shall not, under any pretence, exercise any power or prerogative, by virtue of any law, statute, or custom of England or Great Britain.

XXXIV. That the members of the council, or any three or more of them, when convened, shall constitute a board, for the transacting of business ; that the governor, for the time being, shall preside in the council, and be entitled to a vote, on all questions, in which the council shall be divided in opinion ; and, in

the absence of the governor, the first named of the council shall preside; and, as such, shall also vote, in all cases, where the other members disagree in their opinion.

XXXV. That, in case of refusal, death, resignation, disqualification, or removal out of the state, of any person chosen a member of the council, the members thereof, immediately thereupon, or at their next meeting thereafter, shall elect by ballot, another person (qualified as aforesaid) in his place, for the residue of the year.

XXXVI. That, the council shall have power to make the great seal of this state, which shall be kept by the chancellor for the time being, and affixed to all laws, commissions, grants, and other public testimonials, as has been heretofore practised in this state.

XXXVII. That no senator, delegate of assembly, or member of the council, if he shall qualify as such, shall hold or execute any office of profit or receive the profits of any office exercised by any other person, during the time for which he shall be elected; nor shall any Governor be capable of holding any other office of profit in this state, while he acts as such. And no person, holding a place of profit or receiving any part of the profits thereof or receiving the profits or any part of the profits arising on any agency, for the supply of cloathing or provisions for the army or navy, or holding any office under the United States, or any of them—or a minister or preacher of the gospel, of any denomination—or any person employed in the regular land

service, or marine, of this or the United States—shall have a seat in the general assembly, or the council of this state.

XXXVIII. That every governor, senator, delegate to congress or assembly, and member of the council, before he acts as such, shall take an oath, "that he will not receive, directly or indirectly, at any time, any part of the profits of any office, held by any other person, during his acting in his office of governor, senator, delegate, to congress, or assembly, or member of the council, or the profits, or any part of the profits, arising on any agency, for the supply of cloathing or provisions for the army or navy."

XXXIX. That if any senator, delegate to congress or assembly, or member of the council, shall hold or execute any office of profit, or receive directly or indirectly, at any time, the profits or any part of the profits, of any office exercised by any other person, during his acting as senator, delegate to congress or assembly, or member of the council—his seat (on conviction, in a court of law, by the oath of two credible witnesses) shall be void; and he shall suffer the punishment of wilful and corrupt perjury, or be banished this state forever, or disqualified forever from holding any office or place of trust or profit, as the court may judge.

XL. That the chancellor, all judges, the attorney general, clerks of the general court, the clerks of the county courts, the registers of the land office, and the registers of wills, shall hold their commissions during good behaviour, removable only for

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misbehaviour, on conviction in a court of law.

XLI. That there be a register of wills appointed for each county, who shall be commissioned by the governor, on the joint recommendation of the senate and house of delegates; and that upon the death, resignation, disqualification, or removal out of the county, of any register of wills, in the recess of the general assembly, the governor with the advice of the council, may appoint and commission, a fit and proper person to such vacant office, to hold the same, until the meeting of the general assembly.

XLII. That sheriffs shall be elected in each county, by ballot, every third year; that is to say, two persons for the office of sheriff for each county, the one of whom having the majority of votes, or if both have an equal number, either of them, at the discretion of the governor, to be commissioned by the governor for the said office; and having served for three years, such person shall be ineligible for the four years next succeeding; bond with security to be taken every year, as usual; and no sheriff shall be qualified to act, before the same is given. In case of death, refusal, resignation, disqualification, or removal out of the county, before the expiration of the three years, the other person, chosen as aforesaid, shall be commissioned by the governor, to execute the said office, for the residue of the said three years, the said person giving bond and security as aforesaid; and in case of his death, refusal, resignation, disqualification, or removal out of the county, before the expirati-

tion of the said three years, the governor with the advice of the council, may nominate and commission a fit and proper person, to execute the said office for the residue of the said three years, the said person giving bond and security as aforesaid. The election shall be held, at the same time and place, appointed for the election of delegates; and the justices, there summoned to attend, for the preservation of the peace, shall be judges thereof, and of the qualification of candidates, who shall appoint a clerk to take the ballots. All freemen, above the age of twenty-one years, having a freehold of fifty acres of land, in the county, in which they offer to ballot, and residing therein—and all freemen above the age of twenty one years, and having property in the state above the amount of thirty pounds current money, and having resided in the county, in which they offer to ballot, one whole year next preceding the election—shall have a right of suffrage. No person to be eligible to the office of sheriff for a county, but an inhabitant of the said county, above the age of twenty-one years, and having real and personal property in the state, above the value of one thousand pounds current money. The justices aforesaid, shall examine the ballots; and the two candidates properly qualified, having in each county the majority of legal ballots, shall be declared duly elected for the office of sheriff for such county, and returned to the governor and council, with a certificate of the number of ballots for each of them.

XLIII. That every person,

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who shall offer to vote for delegates, or for the election of the senate, or for the sheriff, shall (if required by any three persons qualified to vote) before he be admitted to poll, take such oath or affirmation of support and fidelity to this state, as this convention, or the legislature, shall direct.

XLIV. That a justice of the peace may be eligible as a senator, delegate, or member of the council, and may continue to act, as a justice of the peace.

XLV. That no field officer of the militia be eligible as a senator, delegate, or member of the council.

XLVI. That all civil officers, hereafter to be appointed for the several counties in this state, shall have been residents of the county, respectively, for which they shall be appointed, six months next before their appointment; and shall continue residents of their county, respectively, during their continuance in office.

XLVII. That the judges of the general court, and justices of the county courts, may appoint the clerks of their respective courts; and in case of refusal, death, resignation, disqualification, or removal out of the state, or from their respective shores, of the clerks of the general court or either of them, in the vacation of the said court—and in case of the refusal, death, resignation, disqualification, or removal out of the county, of any of the said county clerks, in the vacation of the county court, of which he is clerk—the governor, with the advice of the council, may appoint & commission a fit and proper person to such vacant office respectively, to hold the same

until the meeting of the next general court, or county court, as the case may be.

XLVIII. That the governor, for the time being, with the advice and consent of the council, may appoint the chancellor, and all judges and justices, the attorney-general, naval officers, officers in the regular land and sea service, officers of the militia, registers of the land-office, surveyors, and all other civil officers of government, (assessors, constables, and overseers of the roads, only excepted) and may also suspend or remove any civil officer, who has not a commission, during good behaviour; and may suspend any militia officer, for one month: and may also suspend or remove any regular officer in the land or sea service: and the governor may remove or suspend any militia officer, in pursuance of the judgment of the court martial.

XLIX. That all civil officers of the appointment of the governor and council, who do not hold commissions during good behaviour, shall be appointed annually in the third week of November. But if any of them shall be re-appointed, they may continue to act, without any new commission or qualification; and every officer, though not re-appointed, shall continue to act, until the person who shall be appointed and commissioned in his stead, shall be qualified.

L. That the governor, every member of the council, and every judge and justice, before they act as such, shall respectively take an oath, "That he will not through favour, affection, or partiality, vote for any person to office; and that he will vote for

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such person, as, in his judgment & conscience, he believes most fit, and best qualified for the office; and that he has not made, nor will make, any promise, or engagement, to give his vote or interest in favour of any person.

LI. That there be two registers of the land-office, one upon the western, and one upon the eastern shore; that short extracts of the grants and certificates of land, on the western and eastern shores, respectively, be made in separate books, at the public expense, and deposited in the offices of the said registers, in such manner, as shall hereafter be provided by the general assembly.

LII. That every chancellor, judge, register of wills, commissioner of the loan office, attorney-general, sheriff, treasurer, naval officer, register of the land office, register of the chancery court, and every clerk of the common law courts, surveyor, and auditor of the public accounts, before he acts as such, shall take an oath "that he will not directly or indirectly receive any fee or reward, for doing his office of _____, but what is, or shall be allowed by law, nor will, directly or indirectly, receive the profits or any part of the profits of any office, held by any other person; and that he does not hold the same office in trust, or for the benefit of any other person."

LIII. That if any governor, chancellor, judge, register of wills, attorney-general, register of the land office, register of the chancery court, or any clerk of the common law court, treasurer, naval officer, sheriff, surveyor, or auditor of public accounts, shall receive directly or indirect-

ly, at any time, the profits, or any part of the profits of any office, held by any other person, during his acting in the office, to which he is appointed; his election, appointment, and commission (on conviction in a court of law, by oath of two credible witnesses) shall be void; and he shall suffer the punishment for wilful and corrupt perjury, or be banished this state forever, or disqualified forever from holding any office or place of trust or profit, as the court may adjudge.

LIV. That if any person shall give any bribe present or reward, or any promise, or any security for the payment or delivery of any money, or any other thing, to obtain or procure a vote, to be governor, senator, delegate to congress, or assembly, member of the council, or judge, or to be appointed to any of the said offices, or to any office of profit or trust, now created or hereafter to be created in this state—the person giving and the person receiving the same (on conviction in a court of law) shall be forever disqualified to hold any office of trust or profit in this state.

LV. That every person, appointed to any office of profit or trust, shall, before he enters on the execution thereof, take the following oath, to wit, "I, *A. B.* do swear, That I do not hold myself bound in allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to the state of Maryland;" and shall also subscribe a declaration of his belief in the Christian religion.

LVI. That there be a court of appeals, composed of persons of integrity and sound judgment

in the law, whose judgment shall be final and conclusive, in all cases of appeal, from the general court, court of chancery, and court of admiralty: that one person of integrity and sound judgment in the law, be appointed chancellor: that three persons of integrity and sound judgment in the law, be appointed judges of the court now called the provincial court; and that the same court be hereafter called and known by the name of *the general court*; which court shall sit on the western and eastern shores, for transacting and determining the business of the respective shores, at such times and places, as the future legislature of this state shall direct and appoint.

LVII. That the style of all laws run thus; "*Be it enacted by the General assembly of Maryland:*" That all public commissions and grants run thus; "*The state of Maryland,*" &c. and shall be signed by the governor, and attested by the chancellor, with the seal of the state annexed—except military commissions, which shall be attested by the Chancellor, or have the seal of the state annexed: that all writs shall run in the same style, and be attested, sealed, and signed as usual. That all indictments shall conclude, "*against the peace, government, and dignity of the state.*"

LVIII. That all penalties and forfeitures, heretofore going to the king or proprietary, shall go to the state—save only such, as the general assembly may abolish or otherwise provide for.

LIX. That this form of government, and the declaration of rights, and no part thereof,

shall be altered, changed, or abolished, unless a bill to alter, change, or abolish the same, shall pass the general assembly, and be published at least three months before a new election, and shall be confirmed by the general assembly, after a new election of delegates, in the first session after such new election; provided that nothing in this form of government, which relates to the eastern shore particularly, shall at any time hereafter be altered, unless for the alteration and confirmation thereof, at least two-thirds of all the members of each branch of the general assembly shall concur.

LX. That every bill, passed by the general assembly, when engrossed, shall be presented by the speaker of the house of delegates, in the senate, to the governor for the time being, who shall sign the same, and thereto affix the great seal, in the presence of the members of both houses: every law shall be recorded in the general court office of the western shore, and in due time printed, published, and certified under the great seal to the several county courts, in the same manner as hath been heretofore used in this state.

This form of government was assented to, and passed in convention of the delegates of the freemen of Maryland, begun and held at the city of Annapolis, the fourteenth of August, A. D. one thousand seven hundred and seventy six.

By order of the convention,
M. TILGHMAN,
President.

CONSTITUTION of MARYLAND. (381)

AMENDMENTS TO THE FOREGOING CONSTITUTION.

ALL those parts of the constitution and form of government that prevent a citizen, conscientiously scrupulous of taking an oath in any case, and who are permitted by the constitution to affirm in certain cases, from taking a seat in the legislature, or from being an elector of the senate, without taking an oath of support to this government, shall be repealed; and hereafter a solemn affirmation, or declaration of support to this government may be taken, and shall be received instead of an oath, by any citizen chosen a delegate or elector of the senate, conscientiously scrupulous of taking an oath in any case, and who is permitted by the constitution to affirm in certain cases. Nov. 1788, C. 44, § 2. confirmed by 1789, C. 1.

Every person being a member of either of the sects or societies called Quakers, Menonists, Dunkers, or Nicolites, or new Quakers, and who shall be conscientiously scrupulous of taking an oath on any occasion, being otherwise qualified and duly elected a senator, delegate, or elector of the senate, or being otherwise qualified and duly appointed or elected to any office of profit or trust, on making affirmation instead of taking the several oaths appointed by the constitution and form of government, and the several acts of assembly of this state now in force, or that

hereafter may be made, such person may hold and exercise any office of profit or trust to which he may be appointed or elected, and may by such affirmation, qualify himself to take a seat in the legislature, and to act therein as a member of the same in all cases whatever, or to be an elector of the senate, in as full and ample a manner, as persons are now competent and qualified to act who are not conscientiously scrupulous of taking such oaths: and the several clauses and sections of the constitution contrary to the provisions of this act, so far as they respect either of the sects or societies aforesaid, shall be repealed, on the confirmation hereof.—1794, C. 49, § 1, 3, confirmed by 1795, C. 11.

That all and every part of the constitution and form of government relating to the judges, time, place and manner of holding elections in the city of Baltimore, and all and every part of the second, third, fifth, fourteenth and forty-second sections of the constitution and form of government of this state, which relate to the judges, place, time, and manner of holding the several elections for delegates, electors of the senate, and sheriffs of the several counties, be and the same are hereby abrogated, repealed, and annulled, and the same shall hereafter be regulated by law: Passed 1798—Confirmed 1799.

ON DESPOTISM.

WHEN the savages of Louisiana want fruit, they cut the tree down from the bottom, and then gather it. This is the image which the illustrious Montesquieu employs to give his opinion of a despotic government.

To know to what degree despotism debases those it has subjected, we should turn our attention to the conduct of the favourites of the princes of Asia.

Isachan, uncle to Schah-Sefy, king of Persia, had three sons that he was excessively fond of. The woman who had borne them to him, was daughter to Schah-Abas. The reigning prince Schah-Sefy was much attached to her, and frequently passed many hours in her company, on account of her vivacity and gaiety. In one of their conversations she took the liberty of joking with him, by saying she was astonished, that notwithstanding the number of fine women he possessed, he had not yet a child, while she had three by her husband. The king replied, he was still young, and he had sufficient time to obtain heirs. She answered, that a land badly ploughed, never produced well, and added, she feared after his death they would be obliged to have recourse to one of her children.

The king, although much piqued at this discourse, disguised his anger, and took leave of her.

The next day, he ordered his three consins to be brought into the garden, and there to be beheaded. At dinner time he had the three heads put in a golden basin with a cover; he then sent for the mother, and in her presence took the heads out one af-

ter the other by the nose out of the basin, and said, "*here are the children of a prolific mother.*" The princess at this horrid sight remained motionless; but observing in the king's countenance a rising fury, which prognosticated a similar treatment for her, she prostrated herself on the ground, kissed the king's feet, and said, "*you have acted nobly, the Lord preserve our king's life!!!*"

After this submission he told her to depart, and sent for the father, to whom he asked if the sight pleased him? Isachan replied, "*it did not displease him; and that if the king had expressed a desire for his children's heads, he would have brought them himself!!!*" A few months after he shared the same fate as his children.

In the history of Cambyse king of Persia, we find an anecdote nearly similar to the preceding one.

Cambyse was much addicted to the use of wine. A favourite of his, named Prexaspes, one day told him, that the people found fault with his drinking so much. "I will prove to you," replied Cambyse, "that wine neither deprives me of judgment or address." To which end, after having drank more than ordinary, he had his favourite's child brought to him; he commanded it to be tied to a tree, and then turning to the father, he said, "*If I pierce your son's heart with this arrow, you will have no reason to say I am wrong to drink so much.*" Having said this, he immediately drew upon the child, and shot it through the heart.

DISQUISITION ON PATRIOTISM. (383)

The infamous mean favourite forgetting his cause for grief, loaded the tyrant with praises for his address.

The Roman Senate, during the reign of Domitian, were, mean enough to suffer their authorities to be debased, by pronouncing a decree relative to cooking.

Domitian regulated his most interesting concerns without the assistance of the senate; and such was the contempt in which he held those who composed it, that he once convoked them to decide in what vessel a monstrous large turbot, which had been presented to him should be cooked. This important affair was examined very gravely by the sena-

tors. They could not find any earthen vessel sufficiently large for the purpose; as such it was proposed that the fish should be cut to pieces; this advice was rejected. After much deliberation, it was decided that a vessel should be made on purpose; and it was decreed, that whenever the emperor went to war, he should have a number of potters in his suite.

The most pleasant circumstance in the whole of this proceeding was, that a blind senator said he was delighted to *see* such a turbot, and during the time the senate sat, he did not cease praising it, keeping his eyes fixed on the side where the fish was not.

DISQUISITION ON PATRIOTISM.

What pity is it,
That we can die but once to serve our country!

ADDISON.

IT is the opinion of many, that self love is the grand impelling spring in the human machine. This sentiment is either utterly false, or the principle, as displayed in some actions, becomes so exceedingly refined, as to merit a much more engaging name. For, if the man, who weeps in secret for the miseries of others, and privately tenders relief; who sacrifices his ease, his property, his health, his reputation, and even his life, to save his country, be actuated by self love; it is a principle inferior only to that, which prompted the Saviour of the world to die for man; and is but another name for perfect disinterestedness.

Patriotism, whether we reflect upon the benevolence which gives it birth, the magnitude of its object, the happy effects which it produces, or the height to which it exalts the human character, by the glorious actions of which it is the cause, must be considered as the noblest of all the social virtues. The patriot is influenced by love for his fellow men, and an ardent desire to preserve sacred and inviolate their natural rights. His philanthropic views, not confined to the small circle of his private friends, are so extensive, as to embrace the liberty and happiness of a whole nation.—That he may be instrumental under

heaven to maintain and secure these invaluable blessings to his country, he devotes his wealth, his fame, his life, his all; glorious sacrifice! what more divine!

To the honour of humanity, the histories of almost every age and nation are replete with examples of this godlike character. Every period of the world has afforded its heroes and patriots; men who could soar above the narrow views & grovelling principles, which actuate so great a part of the human species, and drown every selfish consideration in the love of their country. But we need not advert to the annals of other ages and nations, as the history of our own country points with so much plea-

sure, veneration, and gratitude, to the illustrious WASHINGTON. Before him the heroes of antiquity, shorn of their beams, like stars before the rising sun, hide their heads with shame. Unit- ing in his own character, the courage and enterprising spirit of *Hannibal*, the prudent wisdom of *Fabius*, the disinterestedness of *Cincinnatus*, and the virtues and military talents of the *Scipios*, he could not fail to succeed in the glorious undertaking of giving liberty and happiness to a people who dared to be free. Whilst he lived, he proved a rich blessing to his country, a bright example to the dawning patriotism of the old world, the terror of despotism, and the delight and admiration of all mankind.

ANECDOTE for the LADIES.

AT Chapel, as two Ladies sat,
And pass'd their time in pleasing chat,
The Devil, who's always on the lurch,
Behind such people in a Church,
In short-hand way, with pencil'd marks,
Took down the words of these two sparks
On parchment skin, and when the roll
Would hold no more, it was so full
His Devilship began to pull
And stretch it with his teeth, which failing,
He knock'd his head against the railing.
The Priest, he laugh'd, tho' then at Mass;
To see the Devil such an ass,
To think that parchment-roll, or e'en a skin,
Could hold two women's chat, when they begin
SHANDY.

ODE TO RELIGION.

HAIL fair Religion, heavenly mildness hail,
Breathe through my soul thy sweetest soothing gale;
That sovereign antidote to care, and woe;

First, dearest, greatest good of all below.

Let pain, and penury in black array,
Let thickest ills beset life's thorny way,
Let melancholy glooms my soul enthrall,
One smile from thee will dissipate them all.

Should health take wings, and fell disease enchain
This body down to languishing, and pain,
What draughts, like thine, Religion, can inspire
Solace to pain, and quench its cruel fire.

Each son of man, through death's dark vale must walk,
Where various shapes of honor grimly stalk,
But arm'd by thee, religion, I will brave
The king of terrors, and the yawning grave.

THEOPHILUS.

THE ADVANTAGES OF ADVERSITY.

BY A LADY.

"Though perils did
Abound as thick as thought could make them, and
Appear in forms as horrid; yet my virtue,
As doth a rock against the chiding flood,
Should the approach of this wild river break;
And stand unshaken."

SHAKESPEARE.

WE are the inheritors of sorrow; and he who has not felt that, knows not the native grandeur of his soul. It is not, when reclining on the voluptuous couch of prosperity, that we feel we are more than earth; it is when adversity drags us from the blandishment of pleasure, that the immortal spirit within us exerts her power, revealing, to our astonished eyes, the gorgeous magnificence of the splendid world, in all its intrinsic littleness and folly; and, leading us into the rugged path of life, shews us how to prove ourselves worthy of immortality, by undauntedly combating the opposing powers of vice, malice and misfortune. The satellites of riches naturally

tend to harden the heart, and make it indifferent to the happiness of any but itself. Led early in life to the gay garden of pleasure, where a bright sun forever blazes in the sky; where nature and art unite in closest concord to render the scene beautiful and bewitching to the senses: the magnificent stores of the east are poured before them; the most sumptuous garments of the world are thrown at their feet; their board is loaded with the most delicious viands, served in dishes of refulgent gold and silver; Arabia wafts her most spicy gales to revive them, and harmony warbles her most entrancing sounds to soothe them into rest; they feel of a race su-

perior to their fortune ; and, swelled with her " highblown pride," they spurn the suppliant son of misery from their gates. They have not an idea of his sorrows, therefore they know not how to pity them. But let him turn from the mansion of " swilled insolence," to that of temperance & misfortune ; there will he find the softened soul of a brother ready to sympathise in his woes, and to pour the assuaging balm of comfort into his breaking heart.

A man thus rendered poor by the mischances of life, and unhappy by the unkindness and ingratitude of those who stiled themselves his friends, struggles against the storm—if he has a

wife or children to protect—till, overcome with exertion, he sinks into the arms of his maker, a martyr to his affection and virtue. But, if he be alone on the earth, he retires to some deep solitude ; and there, in the conversation of his books and heaven, he hears the words of the dead applaud him for his seclusion from the temptations of a dishonourable world ; religion will shed her glories around his head ; and meliorating his mind to a pensive resignation, will sublime his soul to such a purity, that when he dies, all he has to resign on earth, is breath. This mild composure of the mind, is what Beattie means when he exclaims—

Ah ! what is mirth, but turbulence unholy ;
When with the charm compar'd, of heavenly melancholy !

On her soft bosom, pensive Queen, the widowed matron rests her sorrowing head ; thou hearest her earnest vows of faithful widowhood ; thou wipest the scalding tears from her sad eyes, and sootheest her into peace. To thee, also flies the unhappy maid, who breathes a hopeless love, wandering amid the mazes of solitude, far from the world, and the dear object of her fond affection, she subjugates the wild agonies of her passion to thy mild influence ; a tender philanthropy fills her breast ; by rendering others happy, she heals the bleed-

ingwounds of her lacerated earth ! Though, sometimes, the sigh of tender recollection will heave her bosom ; a tear to her luckless fate will tremble in her eye ; and her disappointed heart sicken at the illusive happiness of the world ; yet, in the shades of retirement, she breathes the prayer of resignation ; becomes the protectress of the afflicted ; and dies the death of a saint. Thus " Virtue is like some perfumes, which are most fragrant when burnt or bruised ; for prosperity best discovers vice, but adversity, virtue."

OF SOCIAL VIRTUES.

NOTHING but virtue can constitute the happiness of society. To abstain from injuries to deprive no man of the advantages

he enjoys : to give to every one what is due to him ; to do good to contribute to the happiness of others ; and assist each other

—this is being virtuous. Virtue can only be what contributes to the utility, welfare, and security of society.

The first of social virtues is humanity; it is the abridgment of all the rest; taken in its most extensive signification, it is that sentiment which gives every individual of our species a right to our heart and affection. Founded upon a cultivated sensibility, it disposes us to do all the good in our power to our fellow creatures. Its effects are love, beneficence, generosity, indulgence, and compassion. When this virtue is confined within the limits of the society to which we belong, its effects are love of our country, paternal love, filial piety, conjugal tenderness, friendship, affection for our relations and fellow-citizens.

Strength and activity ought to be ranked among the social virtues, because they defend society or establish its security, and their effects are magnanimity, courage, patience, moderation, and temperance. Those virtues which have the good of society for their object, must not be lazy and indolent, like the

chimerical virtues introduced by imposture, which often makes a merit of being useless to others, idleness is a real vice in every association.

Justice is the true basis of all the social virtues; it is justice which holds the balance between the several members of society, and keeps it in an equilibrium, which remedies those evils that might arise from the inequality that nature has established among men, and even makes it contribute to the general good; which secures to individuals their rights, their property, their persons, their liberty, and protects them from the attacks of force, and the snares of treachery; which obliges them to be faithful to their engagements, and banishes fraud and falsehood from among men; in a word, it is justice, which, by means of equitable law, and wise distribution of rewards and punishments, excites to virtue, restrains from vice, and leads those to reason and reflection, who might be tempted to purchase a momentary good, by doing a lasting injury to their fellow creatures.

INGENIOUS STRATAGEM.

An American seaman that was impressed some time since, used the following ingenious stratagem, to evade being carried from the tender on board the man of war—On the night before pressed men were to be removed, he scratched his hands, face and other parts of his body in such a manner, as to fetch

blood in several places; the next day when the pressed men were getting into the boat, he took care to be the last, and just as he was going over the side, he thus addressed himself to the commanding officer:

I hope sir, (said he) I shall be put on board some ship where there is an extraordinary good

surgeon, for it is my misfortune to have had a most inveterate *Itch* upon me for these some days, [at the same time shewing the marks on his face and hands,] and I fear if I have not particular care taken of me, I shall lose my life, if not endanger the life of the whole ship's com-

pany. The officer after viewing him attentively, and cursing the press-gang for their stupidity in bringing such a scabby fellow on board, ordered them to take the boat and set him ashore immediately, as he would have nothing to do with him.

THE FATAL SACRIFICE.

AN HISTORICAL ANECDOTE.

IN that signal victory which Cyrus the Persian obtained over the Assyrians, Panthea, wife to Abreadatas king of the Sussians was made a captive; and being a lady reckoned the most beautiful in Asia, was reserved for Cyrus, by his captains. Her husband was not in the battle, being employed to treat of an alliance betwixt the Assyrians and the king of Bactria. Cyrus, calling to him Araspes, the companion of his youth, recommended Panthea to his care. Have you seen this woman, O Cyrus, said Araspes? Cyrus answered, No. But I did, replied he. When we chose her for you, she was sitting in her tent, without a distinguished mark or habit, surrounded by her women. But, desirous to know which was the mistress, we immediately found her out, though covered with a veil, and looking on the ground. She got up to receive us, and we perceived that she excelled in stature, in grace, and beautiful shape. The eldest among us addressed her in the following words: Take courage, woman. We have heard that your husband is a brave man; but now you are reserved for one not in-

ferior to him, in person, understanding, and power; for if there be in the world, one who deserves admiration, Cyrus is the man, and to him you are destined. The queen, hearing this, tore her robe, and accompanied with her servants, set up a lamentable cry. Upon this, part of her face was discovered, and her neck and hands. And be it known to you, Cyrus, that we all thought never was such another woman. Therefore, by all means, you must see her. Cyrus answered, that now he was resolved against it. Why so? answered the young man. Because, said Cyrus, if upon hearing from you that she is handsome, I am persuaded to see her, I am afraid I shall be more easily tempted to see her a second time, and perhaps come to neglect my affairs. But I conjure you to be careful of the queen, for she may be of service to us in some future exigency. And thus they parted.

Araspes, partly by conversing with a woman not less wise than beautiful, partly by studying to serve and please her, partly by her gratitude when he was sick, and her anxiety for his recovery; by

all these means he was made her captive in love. He ventured to open his heart to her; but without success; for she had the warmest affection for her husband. Yet she forebore complaining to Cyrus, being unwilling to hurt Araspes. Araspes began to think of force; for his passion was now too violent to be restrained. Upon this, Panthea, apprehensive of consequences, was no longer silent; she sent an eunuch to Cyrus, to inform him of her danger. Cyrus commanded his chief minister to tell Araspes, that if he could prevail by persuasion, it was well; but that by no means was he to think of force. The minister used no tenderness in delivering the commission; he accused Araspes as a betrayer of his trust, reproaching him for his injustice, and unlawful passion. This had the wished for effect upon Araspes, who desisted from all further importunity.

Panthea, charmed with this conduct in Cyrus, and admiring his excellent qualifications, endeavored to gain her husband Abradatas to his side. She knew there was no cordiality betwixt him and the king of Assyria. That prince had attempted to take Panthea from him; and Abradatas, considering him as an unjust monarch, wished nothing more earnestly, than an opportunity to quit his service. For this reason he listened to the solicitations of his wife; and came over to Cyrus with two thousand horse. Panthea informed him of the virtue of Cyrus, and of his tender regard for her. What can I do, Panthea, said Abradatas, to shew my gratitude to Cyrus? What else, said she, but to

behave towards him as he has behaved towards you? Upon this, Abradatas, coming to Cyrus, and taking him by the hand, said, O Cyrus, in return for the benefits you have bestowed upon us, I give myself to you, an ally, a servant, and a friend.

From that time Cyrus had no ally more attached to his interest than Abradatas. The morning of that day in which Cyrus overthrew Croesus, Panthea brought to her husband, preparing him for battle, a golden helmet, bracelets, for his wrists, a purple robe, and a crest of a violet colour. These things having been prepared without his knowledge, he said to her, have you made me these arms, Panthea, by destroying your own ornaments? No, surely, said she, not by destroying what is the most valuable of them; for you are my greatest ornament. Proceeding to put on the armour, tears trickled down her cheeks, though she endeavored to restrain them. Abradatas, in this dress, appeared most beautiful and noble. Panthea, after desiring all that were present to retire, spoke as follows; "O Abradatas! if ever there was a woman who regarded her husband more than her own soul, you know I am she. And yet, though I stand thus affected towards you, I swear by our mutual friendship, that rather would I be put underground with you, proving yourself a brave man, than live with you in disregard and shame. We both lie under great obligations to Cyrus, that when I was a captive, and chosen for himself he kept me for you, as if I were his brother's wife." Abradatas, struck with admiration at her discourse, gently took her

hand into his, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, made the following prayer: "O thou, great Jupiter, grant me to appear a husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of Cyrus!" And having said thus, he mounted his chariot and joined the army.

The victory that day was complete. Cyrus routed his enemies, and got possession of their camp. Towards the evening, when the battle was over, Cyrus calling some of his servants, inquired, whether any of them had seen Abradatas? But Abradatas was now no more! he was slain, breaking in upon the Egyptians. All his followers except some trusty companions, had turned their backs when they saw the compact body of the army. And Cyrus was informed, that Panthea had retired with the dead body to the side of the river Pactolus; that her servants were digging a grave for it; and that she herself was sitting on the ground with the head of her dead husband on her knees. Cyrus, hearing this, smote his breast, and hastened to Panthea. Seeing Abradatas lie dead, he burst into tears. The queen, smothering her grief, said, why should you look upon this mangled body? for you are not less affected than I am. "Fool that I was! frequently did I exhort him to shew his friendship for you; and I know he never thought of what he himself might suffer, but of what he should do to gain your favour. He died, therefore, without reproach, and I, who urged him on, sit here alive." Cyrus, shedding tears, spoke thus:

"He has died, Panthea! but his death has been glorious, for he has vanquished his enemies. Honors shall be paid him, suiting a conqueror. A lofty monument shall be erected for him; and all the sacrifices shall be made that are due to the memory of a hero." Having said this, he went away, with great concern for the queen, who had lost so worthy a husband.

Preparations for the sacrifices to the manes of Abradatas were immediately made by order of Cyrus in the great temple, and the dead body was with difficulty removed from Panthea, who followed it with streaming eyes. During the ceremonies, while the incense was ascending, the queen dried her tears, and seemed composed; but suddenly casting her eyes upon the sword of her deceased husband, which the priests had, according to custom, laid on the altar, she seized it, plunged it into her bosom, and in spite of the efforts of Cyrus, who had returned to sympathise in her grief, repeated the blow, and instantly died; uttering the name of her dearest Abradatas with her last breath.

The Persian monarch was exceedingly shocked at the fatal transaction, but could not help admiring the heroic virtue of Panthea. The funeral rights of this amiable pair were performed with the utmost magnificence, and a superb mausoleum was erected to their memory, which was to be seen in the time of the emperor Vespasian, and is mentioned by several of the ancient historians.

The sacredness of TRUTH exemplified in the history of REGULUS, that honorable Roman.

Marcus Atilius Regulus, was a general in the Roman Republic. The Romans under the command of Regulus, had gained many victories; and the Carthaginians, dejected by repeated defeats, hired mercenaries from Greece to assist their cause. With these there came Xantippus, who did not appear to have gained any reputation in the armies of his own country. His discourses soon attracted the notice of the Carthaginians. He promised them discipline and victory; and by a decree of the senate, he was appointed to the supreme command. He watched for a favorable moment, and at length conceiving it arrived, he determined to give battle to the Roman army. With this view, he took the advantage of the ground, and made the necessary dispositions. Regulus, inclined to second the wishes of Xantippus, drew up the Romans in array of battle. In this arrangement he is said to have committed a material error. Xantippus began the attack, and in a short time the main body where Regulus commanded was broken through, and the Roman army put to flight. Regulus remained upon the field with five hundred men, where he was soon surrounded, and at length taken prisoner. It was the first time a Roman general had ever been taken alive in battle by the enemy. The victors marched to Carthage, and Regulus followed. Here he long endured the hardships of a rigorous captivity. — They gave him but just food enough to prolong his miseries;

and to render life insupportable, they exposed him to the public scorn — Another engagement soon after took place, in which the Carthaginians lost a considerable number of men. Among these were many illustrious citizens, whom the Romans made prisoners. The ill fortune of the Carthaginians daily increased. A second defeat happened; another, and another still succeeded; their best officers were in the hands of the Romans; and they sent Regulus to Rome to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, or to treat of peace. They trusted that the miseries which he had endured in the dungeons of Carthage, would induce him to give his warmest support to a measure that was to restore him to Rome and liberty. Before he departed they gave him to understand, that if the proposals which they ordered him to make should not be accepted, a death of torture awaited him on his return. — When Regulus arrived in the suburbs of Rome, it was some time before he would enter the gates of the city. "It is contrary to law," said he, "for a foreigner, as I am, to enter within the walls of the city. My misfortunes have made me a slave to the Carthaginians." The senate at length assembled, and Regulus made the proposals with which he was charged — The modesty with which he spoke expressed his sense of the low state to which he was fallen. When he had finished, it was with difficulty he could be prevailed on to remain in the senate; and only in obedience to

the repeated orders of the Conscript Fathers, that when it came to his turn, as a member of that august assembly, he delivered his own opinion. He spoke against the proposals which the Carthaginians had deputed him to make. The Senate determined to reject them; and now the moment of trial was come for Regulus, and for his country. The *Pontifex Maximus* declared that he might remain in Rome without incurring the guilt of perjury. His wife and children with tears and lamentations conjured him to stay; and the people joined in the prayer. It was easier for a whole people to be treacherous,

than for Regulus to be false. He knew the punishment that awaited him at Carthage, but stern and inflexible, he preferred his duty to his safety; and his countenance, which upon his arrival expressed a thousand mixed emotions, was serene and settled at his departure. Upon his return at Carthage, he seemed to enter it with triumph. It was in vain that inventive cruelty prepared the torture.—He smiled at her impotence; and the unhappy Chief, who had courted virtue throughout life, in death was not inconstant with her.

HISTORICUS.

SLANDER.

“Slander the worst of poison, ever finds,
“An easy entrance in ignoble minds.

AMIDST the many vices with which the present age is contaminated, none appears of such dangerous tendency as that of slander, and considering the universality of its sway, none more deserving the scourge of the moralist.

How often have innocence and virtue been trodden under foot by this most detestable of vices!—How often has the fate of a poor forlorn stranger been decided over a “cup of tea” or a “glass of wine!”—How often has the bud of genius been destroyed by the chilling frosts of cold disdain! gracious God! Is it possible that a human being can be so far lost to sense and feeling!—Is it possible that any one can be pleased with such savage brutality?—yes it is too

true,—the manes of injured innocence, call loudly upon their calumniators, and it is high time that this lurking serpent should be dispelled from society.

One fruitful source of vice, arises merely from an “idle, desultory” turn of mind. If mankind would pay more attention to their own affairs and conduct, they perhaps would not find so much time to investigate the characters and conduct of others. This class of society conceive it beneath them to “think at all;” careless as to the embellishments of either mind or body, their chief delight is in “laughing from house to house” and decrying the characters of others, for such is their envy and spleen, that they cannot endure the idea of others possessing virtues and

qualifications which they themselves were too idle to acquire, Happy would it be for mankind at large, as well as for the individuals themselves, if, instead of this kind employment, they should learn to study and converse upon the useful. Nothing can be more insipid and irksome to a mind of sensibility, than to be obliged to hear the modern "teatable chat," which merely consists of declamation, at the expence of some absent person: misrepresentation and abuse are the necessary accomplishments, and you are considered as a strange and severe kind of being, unless you can, not only contribute your quota, but also subscribe to all they say, and ten to one but they will take the first opportunity to strip you, and leave you as bare and naked of virtues as themselves.

What such characters can propose to themselves, by such a mode of conduct, I am at a loss to determine; it certainly can be productive of no advantage, but on the contrary is a direct path to infamy and reproach, for however virtue may be crushed by their cruel and ungenerous conduct, yet she cannot be totally overcome, and the time will certainly arrive when they will have reason to dread their rising power; every virtuous mind will look upon them with disdain, and like "proud Human" they will at last fall a just sacrifice to their own devices.

The difficulty of forming a true judgment of the conduct of others, is a powerful argument against such a practice. An action at first sight may appear

highly improper, and perhaps very criminal, yet may be very justifiable when all the circumstances are known, and until the motives be ascertained, we cannot possibly decide whether it be criminal or not, much less the degree of it.

It is also the most destructive as it relates to society; it not only sets individuals but families, states, and even nations together by the ears.

There is no injury to which men can be subjected, that can hold any kind of comparison with that his character may sustain. "He that steals my purse" (says the "immortal Bard") "steals trash—but he that filches from me my good name, robs me of that which not enriches him, but makes me poor indeed." Indeed it is a crime that is almost unpardonable: reputation is a tender flower, and slow of growth; it is perhaps the toil of many years; and to have it blasted in one hour by some unfeeling wretch!—at an evening's visit! over a cup of tea or a glass of wine!—it is too much!—blush ye unhuman brutes! behold sensibility weeping over the ruin you have occasioned!—may the arrow of fell remorse, leave the rankling venom in such flinty hearts, may all the pangs they have occasioned others, return with double torture to themselves, and like the sword of the "destroying angel," leave neither root nor branch of such a tribe of gloomy assassins.

When alas, will the age of reason and philanthropy return!—when shall virtue raise her depressed head!—I weep, for

"I am a man, and all calamities that touch

"Humanity, come home to me."

DESCRIPTION OF THE WALL WHICH SEPARATES TARTARY
FROM CHINA, &c.

[From Lord MACARTNEY's "Embassy to China."]

THE Wall which separates China from Tartary, is the most stupendous work ever produced by man.—In the vicinity are cantonments for an army of considerable magnitude, at the extremity of which is a massy gateway of stone, defended by 3 iron doors, which guarded the pass between countries formerly distinct. This wall, the pride of human labor, is supposed to be upwards of 1200 miles in length; its height varies according to the circumstances of the surface.

Where one of us contrived to get to the top, it was 30 feet high, and about 24 broad. The foundation is laid on large square stones; the superstructure is brick, the centre is a kind of mortar, covered with flag-stone. A parapet, of no ordinary strength, runs on each side of an embattled wall.

If we consider that this immense fabric crosses the widest rivers, on arches of proportionate size, or in the same form connects mountains together, occasionally ascending the highest hills, or descending the deepest vales, the most active powers of imagination will be requisite to realize the effort of man! In every situation, however, the passage along it, is easy and uninterrupted, and it serves as a military way from one extremity of the empire to the other. At proper intervals there are strong towers placed, whence signals

are repeated, and any alarm may be communicated to the most distant parts of the empire with the expedition of the telegraph.

But man and all his works are doomed to decay. Time has already laid its wasting hand on this celebrated monument of labor; and as it is now no longer necessary for security or defence, since the nations on both sides acknowledge one sovereign, it is more than probable that future travellers in some remote age—for it will exist for ages still—may describe its ruins, and pause while they contemplate the instability of sublunary grandeur. Indeed in some place fragments have already tumbled down and others menace the plains they once defended.

From the best account we receive, this wall has been built full 2000 years: nor can its traces be removed but with the consummation of all things.

About seven miles from the great wall there is a mountain, which exhibits an additional proof of the indefatigable labors of the Chinese, in works of public utility. A road 20 feet wide is cut through the solid rock; and to lessen the declivity, it is sunk no less than an hundred feet from the summit of the mountain. Yet still the ascent has a tremendous appearance, and without this vast labor it could not have been surmounted by man.

AN ORIGINAL ANECDOTE OF SHENSTONE.

SHENSTONE was one day walking through his romantic retreats, in company with his Delia (her real name was Wilmot) they were going towards the bower which he made sacred to the ashes of Thompson, our harmonious countryman. "would to Heaven, (said *Shenstone*, pointing to the trees) that Delia could be happy in the midst of these rustic avenues!"—he would have gone on, but was interrupted. A person rushed out of a thicket, and presenting a pistol to his breast, demanded his money. *Shenstone* was surprised and Delia fainted. "Money, says he is not worth struggling for. You cannot be poorer than I am. Unhappy man (says he throwing him his purse) take it and fly as quick as possible." The man did so. He threw his pistol into the water, and in a moment disappeared. *Shenstone* ordered the footboy, who followed behind them, to pursue the robber at a distance, and observe where he went. In two hours time the boy returned, and informed his master, that he followed him to Hales-Owen, where he lived: that he went to the ve-

ry door of his house, and peeped through the key hole; that as the man entered, he threw the purse on the ground, and addressing himself to his wife, "take (says he) the dear bought price of my honesty;"—then taking two of his children, one on each knee, he said to them, "I have ruined my soul, to keep you from starving;" and immediately burst into a flood of tears. You know how this tale of distress would affect *Shenstone*. He enquired after the man's character, and found that he was a laborer, honest and industrious, but oppressed by want, and a numerous family. He went to his house, where the man knelt down at his feet, and implored mercy. *Shenstone* carried him home to assist at the buildings & ther improvements which made himself so poor: and I am told when *Shenstone* died, that this labourer wet his grave with the true tears of gratitude.

Immortal benevolence! the richest gem that adorns the human soul! Without thee, kings are poor; and in thy possession, the beggar is immensely rich.

REMARKABLE *effects* of JEALOUSY.

"Small jealousies, 'tis true, inflame desire:

"Too great, not fan, but quite blow out the fire."

JEALOUSY, above all other passions, is the most violent, and productive of the most horrid effect; for like a monster, not appeased with the destruction of

its enemies, it frequently plunges a dagger in the breast of the dearest object of its love.

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himself in an illicit intercourse with a most beautiful young woman. His wife on being informed of this intrigue, went immediately to the house where her husband's mistress lived, & murdered her in the most cruel manner. She tore her heart from her bosom, and took it home, ordered it to be hashed, and served up to her husband for dinner.

After he had eaten it, she asked him if it was good; and on his answering yes, she said, she was not in the least surprised, for it was the heart of his mistress, whom he so dearly loved. At the same time she drew from a cupboard, the bleeding head of his murdered favourite, and rolled it on the table, at which this unhappy lover was sitting with several of his friends.

His wife immediately departed and took refuge in a convent, where she soon afterwards went mad from rage and jealousy.

A lady having obtained an audience of John III. king of Portugal, she addressed him thus:—"Would your Majesty have

forgiven my husband, if he had surprised and killed me in the act of adultery?" On the king's answering, that he certainly should in such case, she said, "Then all is right, Sir, knowing well that my husband was with another woman at one of my country houses, I went there accompanied with two slaves, to whom I promised their liberty, if they would assist me in my enterprize; and breaking open the door, I caught them in an improper situation, and stabbed them both to the heart. Thus did I murder them. And now Sir, I demand the pardon you would not have refused my husband, if I had been guilty of a similar crime." The king astonished at her resolution, immediately pardoned her.

A Portuguese gentleman, resident at Goa, sleeping with his wife at his side, dreamt that she had granted the last favour to her lover. As soon as he awaked, full of rage and jealousy, he strangled her while she was yet asleep.

ON HUMAN MISERY.

WHEN compelled by our sensations, or called by public misfortunes to the contemplation of individual or national misery, the transition is natural to the consideration of human misery in general. And indeed the instances of individual misery with which we are continually surrounded are nothing but the detail of that melancholy aggregate of woe which involves the whole race of men, and is found

co-extensive with the surface of the globe.

In all ages of the world so far as we know, the misfortunes and difficulties attending life, in every situation have afforded a continual subject of complaint, and the history of mankind may with equal justice and truth, be denominated either a record of sorrow and mourning, or violence and cruelty. If indeed we take a general view of the nations

of the earth, we happily find our faculties too limited and our conceptions too feeble for so vast an object. Providence it seems in pity to our weakness, has only qualified us to see and comprehend in succession such extensive and affective calamities. Were it otherwise, and were we by nature enabled to fill the mind at once with a subject of such magnitude, I have little doubt but the effect would be productive of the most fatal consequences. So many and such varied pictures of wretchedness would at once present themselves as must soon overcome every heart the least susceptible of sympathetic sensations.

But whether we reflect on the simple infirmities peculiar to infancy or those more complicated in maturity, and arising from a derangement of the mental as well as the animal system, still we may perceive even in the contracted sphere of an individual, enough to make us deplore the miseries co-existent with our being, or if we contemplate the additional accidental maladies to which we are subject even in a healthy climate, & which no prudence or sagacity will enable us to guard against, as well as the imbecilities of old age & solemn approaches of death, we shall find abundant reason to abate our pride and increase our humanity. But if we take a successive view of the additional load of woe to which a large portion of our fellow creatures are subject from mere situation, some incessantly feeling the relaxing heats of a vertical sun, others condemned to traverse the bleak plains and gloomy

forests of the polar circle—here the noxious and debilitating powers of a burning climate render the inhabitants too languid and feeble for manly exertions, and almost as passive as the vegetable substances; there the unabating rigours of endless winter congeal the turgid blood, and render the man hardly more susceptible of any sensations whatever than are the oaks of the forest in which he inhabits. I say when we take these additions into consideration, we may say without having recourse to the miseries produced by tyranny and a thousand other pernicious effects of negligence or erroneous volition, that pain and sorrow are our portion, and even congenial with our present existence.

Some who have an extensive opportunity of observing how far degrees of happiness or misery were annexed to particular situations in human life, as well as experienced a variety of fortune themselves, have at last concluded there was no real happiness under the sun, but that what is generally so denominated is nothing but a transient oblivion of that unabating pain or anxiety to which human nature is continually subject.

On this principle they endeavour to account for that irresistible prosperity in men to such species of sensuality as either by the exquisite pleasure they afford, or stupifying consequences, induce a transient forgetfulness of that oppressive load of woe that in every stage of life is their constant companion.

This, say they, impels the inhabitants of northren climates

to that immoderate love of strong liquors, and consequent intoxication, which is the distinguishing characteristic of those people, and which seems to be the principal vice capable of affording a transient alleviation to those peculiar hardships to which their uncommonly rigorous destiny has condemned them. And though this remedy is far less known to the inhabitants of southern latitudes, the reason is evident, that heat of climate and consequent relaxation, of itself sufficiently inclines to forgetfulness and repose, without the aid of artificial stupefaction. Nor are the feeble exhausted frames of these people capable of enduring such remedies, but seek relief from the continual pain of thought to which they are equally subject with their brethren of the north, in an unmeaning and childish gallyantry.

But whether we conclude that human misery admits of intermission, and there are real intervals of happiness experienced by every one, or believed that uninterrupted pain and sorrow is the unhappy lot of man in time, there is undoubtedly an infinitely better remedy for our gloomy situation than corporeal or sensual pleasures; at least for all those who believe in a superin-

tending providence, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of retribution.

As a proof of this we may produce the uniform testimony of all those who have sought consolation against deep affliction in a sincere penitence and humble reliance on their creator, and who have constantly testified that they were never disappointed or forsaken, but have found on many occasions an elevation of soul arising from the sense of supernatural aid that enabled them not only to bear with fortitude the afflictions of time in general, but in innumerable instances to triumph over the most exquisite torments and even the appearance of death itself.

Whereas, among the vast numbers who endeavor to obliterate all sense of misery by intoxication, or avoid reflection by immersing in sensual pleasures, I never heard of one who found any permanent relief from his unhappy situation, nor does it seem possible or consistent with the state of our being.

But on the contrary, the drunkard awakes from his transient oblivion to a keener sense of his misery, and an increasing uneasiness in the constant intruding attendant of unlawful and criminal pleasures.

ON HUMAN HAPPINESS.

MUCH has been said at different periods of the world on this subject, many expedients have been formed by ingenious specu-

latists for the attainment of this sublunary felicity, various have been the plans proposed to facilitate the acquisition of this phan-

tom of the imagination; as if it were possible for the powers of the human intellect, to remain stationary under any situation we can be placed in. Corporeal gratifications we all know are of transient duration, and many of them, even those accounted the most exquisitely pleasing, not only satiate, but disgust and languor succeed.

Intellectual enjoyments, which certainly the most alluring, are evanescent and fleeting; seldom affording that pleasing gratification which our sanguine expectations vainly anticipated. It may naturally be demanded, what is the cause of this grievous disappointment. When we enquire why the mind never enjoys unmixed felicity in this state of existence, the principal reason appears to me to be this, that we often promise ourselves greater degrees of happiness than the nature of things possibly can bestow; when we are in pursuit of any promising gratification, we generally contemplate it in an abstract sense, as not being connected with contingent concomitants. Though we readily grant that all human joys are imperfect, and we are apt to entertain a mental reservation in favor of our own sagacity and prudence; and that men frustrate the end of gratification by some injudicious management for which they are only culpable; but which we trust our nicer judgment would turn to a better account.

The various means by which the vanity of man deceives him, and counteracts even his best resolutions, are so numerous that no person in any degree acquainted with himself will deny that, on many occasions has conceived

thoughts of his own superior prudence and discretion, that he would be ashamed to own. From these mistaken conclusions in our own favor, we are led to form fallacious notions of the nature of human happiness. From entertaining false notions of human felicity in the enjoyment of the various pleasures that the God of Nature has wisely provided for us, men have been led to pronounce all things vanity and vexation of spirit. This confession, though from the wisest of men, does not appear to me to be grounded on a rational judgment or a just estimate of the grand scheme of the Creator of all things, who could not provide any thing which was not ultimately wise and good. If we preserve ourselves untainted by vice, which is constantly holding forth its illusive joys, we may find in the interval of our leisure moments harmless amusements that will leave no sting behind them. Youth, full of gay thoughts and pleasing expectations, imagine that they will find in a full scope of exquisite gratifications, as much happiness in a few months as in the gradation of human pleasures are experienced in a whole age. Thus deluded by his own vanity he rushes into every scene of dissipation, ruins his constitution and fortune, and often in the end falls by his own hand.—But if on the other hand we cultivate the habits of virtue, we shall not in the end have a just cause to declare that all is vanity and that life is a bubble. Innocent pleasures will be the attendants of virtue, as pain, remorse and misery, are the natural consequences of vice.

MODE OF COURTSHIP IN GREENLAND.

It is generally observed, that women enter into matrimony with more willingness, and less anxious care and solicitude, than men, for which many reasons arise. The women of Greenland are, however, in many cases, an exemption to this general rule. A Greenlander, having fixed his affection, acquaints his parents with it, and they acquaint the parents of the girl. Upon this, two female negociators are sent to her, who, lest they should shock her delicacy, do not enter directly on the subject of their embassy, but launch out in praises of the lover they mean to recommend, of his house, his furniture, and whatever else belongs to him; but they dwell most particularly on his dexterity in catching seals. She, pretending to be affronted, runs away, tearing the ringlets of her hair as she retires. After this the two females having gained a tacit consent from her parents, search for her, and, on discovering her lurking place, drag her by force to the house of her lover, and there leave her. For some days she sits with dishevelled hair, silent and dejected, refusing every kind of sustenance, and at last if kind entreaties cannot prevail upon her, she is compelled by force, and even by blows, to complete the marriage with her husband. It sometimes happens, that when the

female matchmakers arrive to propose a lover to a Greenland young woman, she either faints, or escapes to the uninhabited mountains, where she remains till she be discovered and carried back by some of her relations, or is forced by hunger and cold to return. In both these cases, she previously cuts off her hair, which is an infallible indication that she is determined never to marry.

This peculiar disposition of the Greenland women is not derived from nature, whose dictates and influence are nearly the same in all regions and climates; it proceeds from the horror which arises at the slavish and dependent state of the wives of that country; and the still more abject and dejected state of the widows. The wives, besides being obliged to do every servile office are frequently subjected to the merciless corrections of their husbands. The widows, when they have no longer a husband to hunt and fish for them, are destitute of every resource, and frequently perish of hunger. Hence matrimony, which in most places makes the condition of women more independent and comfortable, among the Greenland women render it truly wretched. No wonder, therefore, that they enter into it with so much reluctance and regret.

 SKETCHES OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF PYTHAGORAS

AMONG the moral maxims and precepts ascribed to Pythagoras are the following :

Virtue is divided into two branches, private and public. Private virtue respects education

silence, abstinence. The powers of the mind are, reason and passion; and when then the latter is preserved in subjection to the former, virtue is prevalent. Young persons should be inured to subjection, that they may always find it easy to submit to the authority of reason. Let them be conducted into the best course of life, and habit will soon render it the most pleasant. Silence is better than idle words. A wise man will prepare himself for every thing which is not in his power. Do what you judge to be right, whatever the vulgar may think of you: if you despise their praise despise also their censure. It is inconsistent with fortitude to relinquish the station appointed by the Supreme Lord, before we obtain his permission. Sobriety is the strength of the soul, for it preserves its reason unclouded by passion. No man ought to be esteemed free, who has not the perfect command of himself. Drunkenness is a temporary phrenzy. That which is good and becoming, is rather to be pursued, than that which is pleasant. The desire of superfluity is foolish, because it knows no limits. All animal pleasures would only be enjoyed according to nature, and with sobriety. Much forethought and discretion is necessary in the production and education of children. Wisdom and virtue are our best defence; every other guard is weak and unstable. It requires much wisdom to give right names to things.

Concerning public virtue, the doctrine of Pythagoras, as it is transmitted to the present time, respects conversation, friendship, religious worship, reverence to

the dead, and legislation. Upon these heads he is said to have taught thus:

Conversation should be adapted to the characters and condition of the persons with whom we converse: that discourse and behaviour which might be proper among young persons, may be exceedingly improper between the young and aged. Propriety and seasonableness are the first things to be regarded in conversation. In all society a due regard must be had to subordination. Respect is due to a worthy stranger, sometimes in preference to countrymen or relations. It is better that those who converse with you should respect you, than that they should fear you; for respect produces admiration, but fear produces hatred. It is an evident proof of a good education to be able to endure the want of it in others. Between friends, the utmost care should be taken to avoid contention, which can only be done by shunning as much as possible all occasions of strife, suppressing resentment, and exercising mutual forbearance. Reproof and correction are useful and becoming from the elder to the younger: especially when they are accompanied, on the part of the reprover, with evident tokens of affection.

Mutual confidence is never for a moment to be interrupted between friends, whether in jest or earnest; for nothing can heal the wounds which are made by deceit. A friend must never be forsaken in adversity, nor for any infirmity in human nature, excepting only invincible obstinacy and depravity. Before we should abandon a friend, we

should endeavour, by actions as well as words, to reclaim him. True friendship is a kind of union which is immortal.

The design and object of all moral precepts, is to lead men to the imitation of God. Since the Deity directs all things, every good thing is to be sought for from him alone : and nothing is to be done which is contrary to his pleasure. Whilst we are performing divine rites, piety should dwell in the mind. The gods are to be worshipped, not under such images as represent the forms of men, but by such

symbols as are suitable to their nature, by simple lustrations and offerings, and with purity of heart. Gods and heroes are to be worshipped with different degrees of homage, according to their nature. Oaths are in no case to be violated.

The bodies of the dead are not to be buried. Next to gods & dæmons, the highest reverence is due to parents and legislators ; and the laws and customs of our country are to be religiously observed—Thus much concerning the active or moral philosophy of Pythagoras.

ANECDOTE.

A Major-General in the Prussian service, which was an able officer, and a man of merit, was observed frequently to speak in very strong terms of the blessings of liberty, and the humiliating chains of despotism. This being reported to the king, Frederick

wrote to him. ‘*Monsr. Major-General, I must beg that you will no longer continue to play the part of Brutus in my domains ; or, otherwise, I shall be obliged to conspire against your liberty.*’

VIRTUE.

VIRTUE is not to be considered in the light of mere innocence, or abstaining from harm,

but as the exertion of our faculties in doing good.

A N O T E.

THE Patrons of the *National Magazine* are respectfully informed, that after the rising of the present session of Congress, the *Cabinet* and the *National Magazine* will be blended together, and published in a Quarto Pamphlet, of 12 pages, stitched in a cover, once a week, except within the District of Columbia, where 4 pages will be delivered every second day; in this shape it will be the endeavour of the Editor to preserve the spirit and life of the "*Cabinet*," without destroying the solidity and usefulness of the Magazine.

